# Christian international volunteering: unpacking motivations and engagements with poverty, injustice and inequality

**by**

**Beth Saunders**

**PhD**

**Aberystwyth University**

**2020**

# Acknowledgements

Throughout completing this PhD, I have received a great deal of support and encouragement. I would first like to thank my family who have reassured me through hard times and celebrated achievements. A special thank you to my Mum, Lynda Saunders, for being an editorial whizz when scrutinising every comma and showing unfailing patience when teaching me the difference between practice and practise. Thank you to the many friends who also supported me, particularly my church housegroup, for their prayers and encouragement. The Ultimate Frisbee team has also provided a great distraction to rest my mind outside the research process.

I would like to acknowledge those in the human geography department at Aberystwyth University, especially my supervisors Professor Mike Woods and Dr Jesse Heley for their expertise, guidance and support. Here I found direction for my research and space to deliberate my findings. Thanks also to Dr Rhys Dafydd Jones for encouraging me to apply for the PhD. My fellow PhD students were also invaluable in negotiating my way through the academic sphere.

I am particularly grateful to all my research participants for offering their collaboration, time and insight. Many people willingly gave their time to inform this research and showed genuine interest in its outcomes. I hope this thesis honours this.

This research reported in this thesis was funded by the European Research Council Advanced Grant 339567 GLOBAL-RURAL. This grant enabled me to complete the PhD, undertake my fieldwork in Tanzania and attend conferences.

Finally, this would all not have been possible without my Heavenly Father who provided this opportunity, surrounded me with the love and support of family and friends and who continually drives my passion for researching issues of justice, inequality and poverty.

# Abstract

International volunteering has become an increasingly common activity where gap year students, diaspora communities, retirees and faith groups travel oversees to experience another culture and play a role in addressing global poverty. A growing number of academic, practioner and public audiences are analysing this practice, yet despite the notable exceptions of Baillie-Smith et al (2013) and Hopkins et al (2015), Christian international volunteering has received less attention than its non-faith counterparts. This thesis addresses the knowledge gaps of how faith motivates individuals to participate in international volunteering programmes and how these programmes influence understandings of, and commitments to address, poverty, injustice and inequality. During a three-month fieldwork placement in Tanzania, I volunteered with a Christian international development organisation and collected data through ethnographic observations and semi-structured interviews with international volunteers, host organisations and local missionaries.

Volunteers feel called by God to help other Christians overseas and desire to grow in their faith; whereas host organisations hope to build relationships, develop their skills and secure financial support. Volunteers understand poverty holistically, having both religious and material dimensions. The shared faith of the hosts and volunteers create genuine friendships that transcend cultural differences and the volunteers reassess their own internal biases and stereotypes of Africa as poor, barren and homogenous. The volunteers develop global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies and become active in addressing global poverty and inequality through prayer. Yet, some volunteers overlook the material poverty in the host communities due to a perceived spiritual richness. Further, some fail to acknowledge their privileges, attributing these to luck and blessings from God and remaining unaware of the systems of oppression that have caused global poverty and inequality. This thesis shows the need for Christian international volunteers to develop a greater understanding of the root causes of global poverty and inequality in order to shape their own values, lifestyles and social advocacy, on and beyond the volunteer programmes.

# Contents

# List of Tables and Figures

# List of Abbreviations

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CCM | - | Chama Cha Mapinduzi |
| DFID | - | Department for International Development |
| FBO | - | Faith-Based Organisation |
| NCS | - | National Citizen Service |
| IMF | - | International Monetary Fund |
| NGO | - | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| SDG | - | Sustainable Development Goal |
| USAID | - | United Stated Agency for International Development |
| VAD | - | Voluntary Aid Detachment scheme |
| VSO | - | Voluntary Service Overseas |
| WFDD | - | World Faith Development Dialogue |

# 1. Introduction

## 1.0: Introducing Christian International Volunteering

In 2010, the expression 'gap yah' became a household slogan after Matt Lacey featured in a YouTube video satirising gap year volunteering, reaching 660 million views in its first month (VMproductionsUK, 2010). Nine years later, it has received over 6.6 million views. In this video, Matt is depicted as an upper-middle class, gap year student, speaking of his experiences in Burma, Tanzania and Peru. Showing a low level of cultural engagement, he speaks more frequently of his drinking activities than realising the reality of the poverty around him. The Christian comedian John Crist similarly parodied Christian international volunteering practices in his video sketch 'honest mission trip leader'. John Crist walks through an airport, alludes to the immaturity of some volunteers by frequent requests to check for passports, and suggests a lack of cultural appropriateness through repeatedly inquiring whether anyone speaks the language of their destination country (johnbcrist, 2017). The goal of these mission trips is also sarcastically positioned as receiving 'likes' on one's social media pictures.

Yet, despite these renowned parodies, or perhaps because of these parodies, international volunteer experiences have become increasingly popular throughout the 21st century, so much so that they have been imaged as a 'rite of passage' (Crossley, 2012; Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011), particularly among faith communities where volunteering overseas allows development of religious maturity before entering adulthood (Hopkins et al, 2015). Simple internet searches link individuals to countless organisations who provide and host international volunteering placements. McGehee (2014) reviewed the last three decades of international volunteering literature and estimated a possible 10 million individuals volunteering internationally each year from many different social groups, including gap year students, diaspora communities, retirees, and faith groups. These programme claim to offer the chance to avoid mass tourism experiences, to have real and authentic encounters in places of cultural difference, to play a role in ending global poverty and an opportunity to witness and experience the daily lives of those in other countries, commonly those in 'developing countries'. Add to this the chance to improve your CV through overcoming new challenges, working as part of a team, and acquiring new skills. For Christians, volunteering also offers the opportunity to put religious values into practice, learn more about God, and become more mature in personal spiritual life. Thus, Christian international volunteering has now become an attractive and common way to spend a gap year.

Because of this, it seemed timely to analyse these Christian volunteer programmes to understand the role of faith in these programmes and the impacts they have, both on and beyond volunteering, on both the host communities and the volunteers themselves. Indeed the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development explicitly acknowledges volunteer groups as stakeholders in achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These SDGs were agreed by world leaders at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in 2015 to end poverty, fight inequality and injustice and tackle climate change by 2030. Here volunteers are recognised as an important vehicle for sustainable development in their capacity to reach out to people in need, deliver basic services, provide technical support, gain a responsibility for one's own community and foster long-term attitude and behaviour changes (United Nations Development Group, 2014; United Nations General Assembly, 2014). Investigating the role international volunteering plays in supporting a sustainable and just future is thus crucial.

Christian international volunteering programmes vary significantly in their length of time overseas, quality, goals, activities, and impact. Commonly international volunteering opportunities attract young people taking breaks in their education, but summer placements may also attract retirees and teachers. Owing to placements usually costing anywhere between £1000 to £9000, depending on your length of stay in the recipient country, they attract those with a higher disposable income or families and friends who are able to provide sponsorship. Some organisations explicitly align themselves with a certain denominations or strands of Christianity, whereas for others this association is more implicit, and likely built up over years of relationships between the churches and the organisation who share similar missions, demographics and theologies.

I interviewed 7 Christian organisations recruiting international volunteers during this research, however internet searches reveal over 40 organisations of different scales, theologies, approaches to development and areas of focus. These Christian international volunteering organisations offer opportunities to travel from the UK to various African, Asia, Latin American and Eastern European countries. For some organisations, their approaches to volunteering centre around facilitating intercultural exchanges between volunteers and recipient countries where each learn about their respective culture and build relationships. Other organisations may focus more on physical contributions, engaging volunteers in activities such as building projects, teaching at local schools and caring for children. Other volunteer programmes are overtly evangelistic, where the aims of the placements are to expose the volunteer to long term mission work and seek converts to the Christian faith. However, the picture is not always this clear and many organisations will have multiple goals and aims for their placements and their approaches to volunteering may change over time. Further, some organisations may operate solely through volunteers and exist specifically to offer international volunteering opportunities, whereas other international volunteer programmes form part of a wider mission or international development organisation.

In this research I worked most closely with Amare[1], partaking in an overseas placement to Tanzania. Amare is an evangelical Christian international development and relief organisation that works worldwide to tackle global poverty and inequality, respond when disasters occur and change laws and individual lifestyles to care for the planet and help those living in poverty. Their Christian faith inspires and informs their development work; however, their mission is not overtly evangelistic. Their development work is undertaken through partners organisation overseas, commonly the local church but not exclusively and beneficiaries are worked with based on their individual needs, regardless of their faith, or lack of. Between January and July 2018, when I undertook my fieldwork, Amare sent 203 volunteers overseas to various countries in Africa and Latin America. Relationships and seeing and experiencing life in a different, commonly 'developing' country, plays a crucial role in motivating Amare to organise volunteer placements. Through volunteering overseas, they believe volunteers will gain a more personal understanding of how poverty affects the lives of those living overseas, in comparison to seeing videos of life in a developing country which feels distant and removed from the volunteers lives. Through forging relationships and visiting development projects, Amare aim for volunteers to become more informed and engaged with addressing poverty and inequality through prayer, campaigning, fundraising, further volunteering (not necessarily international) and lifestyle changes.

Significant scholarship has been devoted to investigating these multiple and diverse forms of volunteering, both secular and faith based (Jones, 2011). Some literature dedicates itself to exploring the potentialities of international volunteering. This may include the possibility of inspiring behaviour

[1] Amare is a pseudonym

change and actions for social justice (Crabtree, 2008), creating global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies (Lyons et al, 2012; Rovisco, 2009; Snee 2013; Baillie-Smith and Laurie, 2011), fostering global solidarity (Zahra and McIntosh, 2007), unsettling superiority stereotypes (Griffiths, 2014), and providing a site for transformative learning (Hanson, 2010; Sin, 2009; Devere

ux 2008). Other scholarship, however, reveals the pitfalls of volunteering, with authors using neoliberal or neo-colonial lenses in their analyses. Here, volunteering practices are portrayed as depoliticised, focussing on the experience of the volunteer, rather than on challenging injustices (Vrasti, 2011). Superiority mindsets are supposedly reinforced (Butin, 2005; Ansell 2008; Tiessen and Kumar 2013), poverty is overlooked (Diprose, 2012; Simpson, 2004) and some have questioned whether any behaviour changes result from the practice (Sin, 2009). Going beyond potentialities and pitfalls, others have examined the importance of encounters, emotions and affective experiences (Guiney, 2018; Schech, 2017; Griffiths, 2018). Further, the longstanding attention to 'north-south' volunteering has been unsettled, with emerging research on domestic volunteers (Yea, 2018) and 'south-south' volunteers (Baillie-Smith et al, 2018).

Yet, despite this increased interest in volunteering practices, few have focussed specifically on faith-based volunteering, with the exception of Baillie Smith et al (2013) and Hopkins et al (2015). Hopkins et al (2015) explore how volunteering internationally can be a significantly influential event in a young Christian's life course, assisting negotiation and transition to religious adulthood. Faith was the guiding principle in motivating volunteers and their principle objective was to grow in their own faith and witness to others in their destination country, seeking new converts. Here Hopkins et al (2015) found paternalistic 'othering' tendencies to be commonplace. Similarly, Baillie-Smith et al (2013) found that whilst faith can inform and shape a particular kind of religious global citizenship, these were often incoherent, where volunteers overlooked and failed to engage with the inequality and injustice in their host communities.

Despite the advancements of Baillie Smith et al (2013) and Hopkins et al (2015), many questions require further analysis. For instance, how does faith shape and mould volunteering placements? Is there a unique contribution Christian volunteering can offer host communities? How can Christian international volunteers be involved in pursuing solidarity and an end to global poverty and inequality? Are public criticisms of volunteering valid, or could some programmes be potentially transformative? The voices of host communities seem mysteriously absent in discussions about overseas volunteering, what do they think about these volunteering programmes? Indeed, Baillie Smith et al (2013) comment that there remains limited understanding of the way faith-based international volunteering connects with issues of inequality and poverty, and with discourses around development. As such, this thesis examines these questions, thus improving our knowledge of the ways international volunteering programmes may or may not be effective in addressing poverty, deepening solidarity, inspiring behaviour change and social action, and tackling injustice and inequality.

## 1.1: Research Aims and Objectives

Although a wealth of public and academic material investigating volunteering programmes has arisen in recent years, McGehee and Andereck (2008) comment that "the role of organized religion in volunteer tourism [or by extension, international volunteering] often seems to be the elephant in the living room that no one wishes to discuss" (McGehee & Andereck, 2008, 20). In this thesis I investigate this knowledge gap, contributing to the pioneering work of Hopkins et al (2010; 2015), Baillie-Smith et al (2013) and Levitt (2008). Accordingly, the research questions developed were:

- What motivates participation in Christian international volunteering programmes?
- How do Christian international volunteer programmes influence understandings and conceptualisations of poverty, inequality and injustice?
- In what ways do Christian international volunteer programmes influence a commitment to address poverty, inequality and injustice?

This thesis thus contributes to academic enquiry by bringing together two fields of thought; international volunteering and the geographies or religion, faith and spirituality. I do not wish to devote the research completely to investigating the benefits and challenges of Christian international volunteering, not that this is absent. Many, both in the academic sphere and the public realm, have ventured to do that. Following Lorimer (2010), this analysis explores both the potentialities and challenges of international volunteer placements, in order to avoid "both the hyperbolic boosterism of [international volunteering]'s advocates and the dogmatic cynicism of many critics" (Lorimer, 2010, 310). Thus I include, yet also go beyond such debates, to understand the way faith influences and shapes these volunteer programmes, to outline how and why these practices are distinct from secular international volunteering, as well as thinking about the contributions volunteering overseas can make to encouraging international understanding and solidarity, and collective action for social justice.

## 1.2: Positioning Christian International Volunteering

Christian international volunteering falls under an umbrella of many related activities such as 'voluntourism', 'volunteer tourism', 'short-term mission', 'learning for development' or 'service learning'. For this thesis, I have selected to use the phrase Christian international volunteering to align with the language used by most research participants. However, I acknowledge the related activities, drawing on past research of these interrelated activities to inform my work and building on this research. Definitions of international volunteering vary considerably in both academia and common parlance. This study understands Christian international volunteering to be time willingly given for the common good without financial gain or compensation. It involves deliberate helping activities that extend over time, usually through a formal organisation operating overseas. Such organisations will explicitly adhere to the Christian faith, drawing on their faith as an inspiration and guiding tool for their activities (Omoto and Snyder, 2002; Penner 2002; McGehee and Santos, 2005; Clarke and Jennings, 2008).

A key foundation that undergirds this thesis is that Christian international volunteering developed out of a fusing of traditional mission activities, such as evangelism, and traditional development activities, such as teaching and construction. In Christian communities there has been a longstanding custom of sending missionaries (a member of a religious group sent to convert people to their religion or to perform ministries of service such as education, social justice, health care or economic development) to countries around the world, commonly those with low levels of Christianity, or high levels of extreme poverty. This work was entwined with imperialism, with mission agencies delivering services on behalf of the colonial state. These missions often involved long-term commitment due to the complexities of international travel. Nowadays however, international travel is much easier, allowing an individual to undertake multiple short-term mission trips during their lifetime.

The mainstreaming of development has also played a role in the increasing popularity of international volunteering practices. Events such as the Live 8 concerts, organisations such as Comic Relief and celebrities such as Madonna and Angelina Jolie adopting children from 'developing' countries have popularised and even 'made [development] sexy' (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008). Here the agency and experience of the organisation or individuals when helping becomes celebrated and centralised, and

volunteering overseas becomes an attractive way for an individual to likewise play their role in addressing global poverty and 'do development' (Simpson, 2004). Similarly, the increasing prominence of non-governmental organisations (hereafter NGOs) in the development sector has influenced the expanding numbers of overseas volunteers. NGO's are organisations which are autonomous, relatively permanent or institutionalised, staffed by professionals, non-profit, and which work with grassroots NGOs in a supportive capacity (Desai, 2002). NGOs have become increasingly important actors in service delivery and policy advocacy since the 1950s (Beaumont, 2008), as well as recruiting international volunteers to visit their overseas projects. Both the gaps left by the partial service delivery of the government (i.e. neoliberal austerity/'big society' politics), and increased donor pressure for structural reform and privatization of development policy, contributed to this rapid growth in the numbers and impact of NGOs. NGOs were trusted, perceived as flexible, open to innovation, and able to reach the poor through their links with grassroots NGOs.

Many faith groups and individuals were also motivated to step into the gap left by the withdrawal of the welfare state in order to meet the needs of those marginalised and excluded. As such, multiple faith-based organisations, hereafter FBOs, were established and are now common actors in the development sphere, working for social change and fighting injustice, inequality and poverty in various countries (Beaumont and Cloke, 2011; Beaumont and Nicholls, 2007). These FBOs frequently recruit faith-based international volunteers to visit and support their overseas projects. The term FBO is used to refer to 'any organisation that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teaching and principles of the faith, or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith' (Clarke and Jennings, 2008, 6). The term FBO masks enormous complexity, with many types of FBOs drawing on, and applying, their faith in different ways throughout their programmes. In some instances, it can be difficult to distinguish secular NGOs and FBOs (Linden, 2007), yet for other organisations, their faith is a motivation for action, influencing who they work with and where they seek to bring new converts to their faith (Clarke, 2008).

## 1.3: Personal Context

I myself have taken part in Christian international volunteering programmes including a two-week placement in Zambia in 2011, and subsequently in 2012, five weeks volunteering in Uganda and Tanzania. Growing up in a church meant I had learnt about the importance of mission and social justice, and saw many people stand at the front of services, speaking passionately about their time in various African, Asian and South American countries. Further, being a committed Christian planted the desire to share the message of Jesus, and to help the poor and vulnerable, while widespread mass media increased awareness of the harsh realities and poverty of life in other countries. During school and university, career advice sessions made me conscious of the need for work and life experiences, and departmental advertisements revealed funding possibilities for students undertaking overseas experiences related to their courses. This mixture of motivations lead me to apply for the aforementioned volunteer placements where I satisfied my desire to travel and see the world, yet gain a real and authentic experience of life in these countries, whilst being able to help and input into the local communities. Further, I could develop my social capital and pave the way for a career in international development and humanitarian relief.

During my time in these countries, I eagerly invested in my volunteer activities of teaching, sanding and painting the walls of classrooms, helping care for babies at local orphanages and undertaking home visits where food parcels and medicine was distributed. I enjoyed meeting local people whose

friendliness was infectious, and I revelled in the excitement of a new culture. We were shown the benefits that previous volunteers had brought, and I felt happy knowing I was now playing a small part in these benefits. Yet, an uneasy feeling accompanied these placements. It was difficult to see any real contribution had been made to the various communities, despite the tag line of many organisations being "go and make a difference", or words to that effect. Rather than 'doing', we spent a large proportion of time visiting various projects, and hearing about the ongoing development work in these communities. Re-reading my diaries from these volunteer placements instilled in me a desire to explore this topic further, to understand why short-term volunteering is such a common activity. Questions like, why did organisations send out volunteers? Why did local communities receive volunteers? Is it possible to make a difference whilst volunteering internationally? Did I have the focus all wrong, was I focussing too much on myself? What, if anything, did the local community stand to gain from having volunteers? What difference did the 'faith' element of these programmes make? These questions fuelled my desire to undertake this research and several of the questions are explored in the following chapters. This personal history means I associate with many of the volunteers, sharing their journeys and, as such, I include myself in the following discussions and critiques, adopting a position of 'critical sympathy' (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008).

## 1.4: Conceptualising Religion, Faith and Spiritualty

Before progressing, it is essential to explore a few definitions of religion, faith and spiritualty and describe how they will be used throughout this thesis. It is important to recognise that there are different understandings of religion, faith and spirituality and many people have used the terms interchangeably; where one author uses faith, another may use religious. Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) capture this when they state, "contestation and disagreement over the nature and content of religion are hallmarks of both religious practice and religious studies" (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011, 21). The same could also be said of faith and spirituality. Whilst religion, spirituality and faith are often used interchangeably, they do present some small intrinsic differences. Thus, defining religion, spirituality and faith is a complex task, but some brief definitions of how these terms are commonly used will be given below, followed by an outline of how I will use these terms throughout the thesis.

Asad (1993) advocates for an explicit translation of the word 'religion' when utilised in academic discourses, in order to avoid Enlightenment pretensions of universality. He continues, "there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes" (Asad, 1993, 29; see also Casanova, 2009). The era of colonial expansion and missionary activity is noted as the earliest period where defining religion was perceived as important. Religion was said to involve beliefs in a supreme power, practices of ordered worship, and ethics or morality based on rewards and punishments after this life (Asad, 1993). For Asad (1993), when we try to define religion, faith or spirituality we reinforce a particularly western view of what a religion should be like. Similarly, Tomalin (2017) observes the diversity within religious groups and across nations where you can find religion that is traditional as well as that which is conservative, religions focussed on beliefs or religions focussed on practice, institutionalised religion as well as non-institutionalised religion, publicly influential as well as privatised. This presents particular challenges when partaking in cross-cultural research where various ways of 'doing religion' co-exist, even within one religious tradition. As such, it is essential to remain open to the various ways people may 'do religion', seeking to understand the various perspectives, beliefs, practices and values and how they shape an individual or community life, rather than imposing a definition onto them.

The terms 'religion', 'spiritualty' and 'faith' are perhaps best understood when spoken about in comparison with the other, yet the differences are complex. The distinction between religion and spirituality is perhaps the clearest. Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) state, "we understand 'religion' as an institutionalised belief system that unites a community of believers around social practices, rather than 'spirituality', which concerns the individual, potentially in a socially and historically detached way" (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011, 8). Verter (2003) offers a similar definition, 'though "spirituality" is notoriously ill defined, when used in opposition to "religion" (as in the lamentably common locution, "I'm not religious but I'm spiritual"), it generally connotes an extra institutional, resolutely individualistic, and often highly eclectic personal theology self-consciously resistant to dogma' (Verter, 2003, 158). In these definitions, religion has associations with belief, values, rules, institutions and social practices often codified in a sacred text. Spirituality on the other hand refers to more individualised belief systems, where experience and intimacy are emphasised and which may or may not be attached to a particular religion, and in some instances, may deliberately distance themselves from a particular religion. Religion is generally thought of as something that is imposed from the top, or something external, whereas spirituality is something that comes from within the self, or something internal. In practice however, this distinction is not always that evident. Religion can often be the source of, or influence on, spirituality, and some people would associate as both religious and spiritual. However, not all religious people are spiritual and not all spiritual people would associate as religious (Lunn, 2009).

Heelas and Woodhead (2005) provide a helpful distinction between religion and spirituality that centres on where one looks to define the self, seek happiness and inform one's values and lifestyle choices. For those who classify themselves as spiritual, this involves an inward turn and a looking to one's own self and inner experience. 'Religious', on the other hand, denotes individuals who look beyond themselves, to something higher and transcendent. For Heelas and Woodhead (2005) there is a deep incompatibility between religion and spirituality, where each finds danger in the other. The way they understand religion and spirituality differs from common parlance. For instance, Christians often use the word spiritual to describe intense relationships and experiences with the divine. For Heelas and Woodhead (2005) however, this still involves looking beyond one's self, to something higher, to shape this experience, and they would classify this as religious. Whilst this distinction of where one turns to define the self is helpful, it is conceivable that someone may look both within oneself and beyond oneself for this self-definition; when one is lacking, someone may look elsewhere. Further, they may be used to inform and validate the other. Thus, we see again the complexity of defining religion and spirituality.

Defining religion, faith and spirituality is made even more complex when one considers that they are not static things, but have the possibility of transformation, growth and regression. They are dynamic and subject to conflicts over the central teachings, practices and beliefs of the faith, and, in turn, to how this should influence the lives of the individuals or community and their practice. Further, even within religious or spiritual groups there can be a variety of beliefs and practices. Relatedly, a rise in spirituality, coupled with a decline in religion, has been observed in many western European societies, a move that has been famously referred to as 'believing without belonging' (Davie, 1990). Baker and Miles-Watson (2010) remark how it is not surprising that a move from religion to spirituality has been witnessed. They show how an individual's relationship with God is increasingly stressed in modern day religious settings, which has removed the magical element of ritual and caused increasing levels of distrust with any form of established religion. For many, spirituality describes a religious outlook, not a lack of it. However, others have concluded differently, suggesting that people who associate as spiritual are simply less religious and partake in fewer formal religious activities, such as regularly attending church (Iannaccone and Klick, 2003). This is not to suggest that religion has totally

disappeared, or that spirituality is new and never existed, rather it seems that people identifying as spiritual has become progressively dominant in western Europe. This "spiritual revolution" (Heelas and Woodhead, 2005) has not been observed globally however, where in many cases spirituality may be giving way to more formalised religion, or where both are continuing to increase alongside each other. Such a trend is often observed in parts of Africa and Latin and North America.

The distinction between religion and faith, or faith and spirituality is arguably more complex than between religion and spirituality. In practice, many people would describe themselves in terms of all three. Lunn (2009) distinguishes the three concepts and refers to "religion as an institutionalised system of beliefs and practices concerning the supernatural realm: spirituality as the personal beliefs by which an individual relates to and experiences the supernatural realm; and faith as the human trust or belief in a transcendent reality" (Lunn, 2009, 937). In the literature, it seems the term 'faith' has become increasingly more common in usage, preferred by many due to previous criticisms that the term 'religion' caused an almost exclusive focus on 'book religions' such as Christianity, Islam or Hinduism, to the detriment of more amorphous or oral traditions such as Confucianism or Shamanism.

During my research, I found respondents using all three terms to describe themselves or their community. It was common for participants to shy away from the word 'religion', preferring 'faith' or 'Christian'. The respondents stressed the importance of the relational, individual and experiential element of their faith and as such, shied away from the term 'religion' as they felt it was associated with rules and a lack of freedom and joy. Yet they also highlighted the importance of being committed to a local church and being disciplined in activities such as prayer, Bible reading and worship. In this instance, we can see elements of traditional religion definitions alongside traditional spiritual definitions. As such, 'faith' was a helpful term to use as it encapsulated these traditionally religious and traditionally spiritual elements into one. Rather pragmatically, many of the contributions this thesis makes are aimed at organisations who themselves self-associate as faith-based organisations, and who are spoken about as such in current academic arguments. To make my work relevant and accessible to such discourses, it seemed appropriate to use this wording.

As such, throughout the empirics of my thesis, I commonly use the phrase 'faith' or 'faith-based', as opposed to 'religious'. I acknowledge that my research is concerned with a traditional 'book' religion and thus might be commonly associated with the category of 'religious'; yet I felt the term 'faith' was appropriate as my respondents often related to this definition more than 'religious' or 'spiritual'. However, during the literature review the use of 'faith', 'spirituality' and 'religion' is common, often reflecting the choice used in the literature in discussion. For instance, in post-secular research it is common to use the term 'religion' with scant mentions of the term 'faith', thus when engaging with postsecularist debates in the literature review, I follow suit.

It should be noted that this thesis is not a theological project, in the traditional sense, and the arguments this thesis builds upon are not theological, but geographical. Whilst certain theologies are mentioned throughout the thesis, the research analysis is approached as a geographer. However, I do draw on work from other disciplines to define the terms 'religion', 'faith' and 'spirituality', as seen in the preceding discussion. Alternative disciplines have previously had greater engagement with such discussions and thus the geographical discipline can benefit greatly from further engagement with this work. Geographical research on religion is expanding and progressing, largely due to the laments of some (Cooper 1992; Holloway 1998, Kong 1990; Levine 1986; Pacione 1999; Sopher 1981, Valins 1999; Wilson 1993) who argued the field lacked coherence with many topics left untouched. Since then a growing body of work, seeking to understand the role of religion in society, has grown (Holloway and Valins 2002; Yorgason and della Dora, 2009; Holloway, 2003; Brace et al, 2006; Secor, 2005; Dunn, 2005; Dafydd Jones, 2010; Cloke et al, 2019; Cloke et al, 2013b; Tse, 2013; Slater, 2004; Maddrell and

Della Dora, 2013). Yet, within this growing body of work, geographers have tended to use the terms 'religion', 'faith' and 'spirituality' interchangeably, with little delineation and distinction offered for these three terms. Such an omission neglects the significant differences acknowledged in both other academic disciplines and common parlance. This thesis thus calls on geographers to begin engaging with these terms in more depth, acknowledging the subtle yet important differences that exist. Engaging with such nuances in understanding will allow for a greater understanding of the role and significance of religion, spirituality and faith in public and private life.

Throughout this thesis I use the phrase Christian international volunteering. Using this phrase, however, runs the risk of positioning Christianity as a singular monolith when in reality different denominations, theologies, religious practices and expressions of the Christian faith co-exist. Even within denominations there can be many and diverse ideologies, opinions, worldviews and religious expressions. Faith is not static, but constantly being renegotiated. Analysing practices involving faith then present many challenges due to this fluidity and diverse expressions. For instance, within the volunteer placement with Amare, the volunteers have different views of political involvement, mission activities, theologies and desires for the outcome of the volunteer placement. To allow the following narrative to flow, I use the phrase 'Christian international volunteering', however, it should be noted that the Christian faith cannot be thought of as a monolith, but may be expressed and interpreted in many different ways.

## 1.5: Navigating the Thesis: Structure, Form and Narrative

This thesis will follow the subsequent structure. Chapter Two, *Geographical Perspectives on Religion* outlines the conceptual inspirations for this thesis. Namely, it introduces the geographies of religion, describing recent discussions on the secularisation theory and post secularisation. Here I also talk about the co-existence of religious and secular processes and what this means for research on Christian international volunteering. Next, I explore the concepts of spiritual and religious capital, demonstrating how religious and spiritual resources can be viewed as mobilisable resources to benefit both oneself and others. Such resources are vehicles in achieving something, providing both the '*why*' that energises and inspires the actions of a religious individual or group, as well as the '*what*' or physical contribution these individuals and groups bring to wider society.

Chapter Three, *International Volunteering and Global Citizenship*, provides a literary background for the thesis. Here I outline contemporary debates on the role of religion, faith and spirituality in international development, showing how religion was previously considered unimportant and antithetical to development research and practice. The same cannot be said today, where growing attention has been paid to the role religion, faith and spirituality can have in tackling global challenges. Development programmes that exclusively emphasise economic growth are seen as lacking and FBOs have been recognised for their unique role in delivering development goals. Following this, a history of international volunteering, both secular and religious, and the rise to popularity is mapped, as well as an outline of current critiques and debates around these practices. Many writers on international volunteering have utilised the concepts of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism to show how volunteering practices may allow opportunities for individuals to express their global citizenships and cosmopolitan tendencies, as well as how these may change and develop through volunteering overseas. As such, a definition and analysis of these concepts is introduced.

Chapter Four, *Research Methodology*, begins with a historical and contemporary introduction to my case study site: The United Republic of Tanzania. This includes mapping the influence of Christian missionaries and international volunteers in the country's recent history, setting the scene for analysis

of current Christian international volunteering practices. A factual overview of the geography, politics and economics is presented and I outline my research questions and strategy. Semi-structured interviews and ethnographic participant observation were the principal research methods for this thesis and I provide a description of why and how these methods were chosen and used for my fieldwork. I show how my research participants were selected and how I analysed the dataset, using NVivo, and discuss and analyse my positionality and personality that influenced and shaped the research process. Finally, I outline the ethical considerations for the research, and show a delineation of the research limitations, paving the way for future research to build on these findings.

Following this, I proceed to present and analyse the data and research findings. This thesis is about journeys, including physical journeys to other countries, spiritual journeys and personal journeys of growth and development. In Chapter Five, *Motivations and Expectations for Christian International Volunteer Programmes: Unpacking Volunteer Rationales*, I begin to map the journey of the Christian international volunteer by examining their reasons for volunteering, as well as their hopes and visions for upcoming placements. Here a number of religiously oriented reasons for volunteering are outlined, including a desire to grow in one's personal faith, encourage other members of the Christian church and experience life as a missionary. Further, inspirations beyond the religious are presented, such as a desire to help others, improve one's own personal professional development and experience a new culture, specifically that of the continent of Africa. It seems that although altruistic justifications are common, motivations are principally self-oriented, where a particular focus on personal faith growth diminishes a critical engagement with privilege, power and injustice.

Chapter Six, *Motivations and Expectations for Christian International Volunteer Programmes: Unpacking Host Organisation and Sending Organisation Rationales*, builds on Chapter Five by considering the inspirations and aspirations of host organisations and sending organisations. Here both religious motivations and rationales beyond the religious are presented. This includes the desire to expose volunteers to the community development projects, thus improving one's credibility and securing future financial support. Further, the hope of skills development, building new relationships and investing in the global church also inspire host and sending organisations. Following this, a delineation of pre-departure training and materials are given to show how the volunteers are prepared for their time overseas. Whilst continued development learning, active citizenship and unsettling one's own cultural bias and superiority mindset was emphasised here, little acknowledgement of power and systems of oppression was given, nor information about the host countries or their histories.

In Chapter Seven, *Christian International Volunteering and the Production of White Saviours, Global Citizens, Both or Neither*, I draw on key debates and concepts from whiteness studies to explore how white saviour mentalities are both perpetuated and challenged through volunteering programmes. Volunteers often fail to acknowledge their privilege and the systems of power that have created this privilege. This, however, is viewed as luck and a blessing from God and such a position is critiqued as it discourages a resistance to structures of oppression. However, volunteering can also be transformative, where volunteers acknowledge and challenge previously held 'othering' mindsets and superiority tendencies, and thereby foster respect for the host communities. Further, volunteers increasingly acknowledge they belong to a global community and celebrate differences and diversity, displaying global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies. These global citizenships are principally enacted in 'soft' manners, where charitable and short-term helping actions are pursued, as opposed to a pursuit of justice and long-term solutions to the root causes of poverty and inequality.

Chapter Eight, *Faith and Poverty: Exploring Conceptualisations of, and Responses to, Poverty among Christian International Volunteers,* analyses the way the volunteers' Christian faith influences how

they define poverty. Here poverty goes beyond the material, to include spiritual dimensions. Secular development narratives are lacking for the volunteers who consistently draw on religious narratives to describe the root cause and solution to poverty. This is rooted in the brokenness of the world and the future earthly return of Jesus Christ. The volunteers find hope in this future return where Jesus will end global poverty. For some this causes a lack of engagement in pursuing justice, yet for others it provides inspiration. Additionally, 'poor yet happy' narratives are frequently used by volunteers where they observe a spiritual richness in the local communities. Whilst this reduces paternalistic attitudes, it also causes poverty and injustices to be overlooked. This chapter also explores how volunteers become active in addressing poverty and inequality through prayer. Prayer is positioned as a form of quiet activism where volunteers advocate for the individuals and communities they meet whilst overseas. Prayer, it is argued, should not be dismissed as trivial, but a central way the Christian volunteers become active in seeking social change.

In Chapter Nine, *Conclusions*, I bring together the main arguments of this thesis and show how this work contributed to key geographical debates. I also celebrate the benefits of Christian international volunteering, as well as bringing to light some challenges and problematic elements of the practice. Further, I offer recommendations for FBOs working with international volunteers and suggest areas for future research. This chapter also details a workshop that I organised and ran with various faith-based organisations to present the research findings and facilitate a discussion group based on these findings and to hear their responses and influence their volunteering programmes. In Chapter Nine I outline the discussion themes covered in this workshop, showing that in some cases they support and confirm these research findings, yet in other instances contradict and offer alternatives perspectives and viewpoints on the data.

As a note, throughout my thesis I use inverted commas around the terms 'developing' and 'developed' countries and 'global north' and 'global south'. These are terms I have become increasingly uncomfortable with as my PhD has progressed, like many within human geography (McEwan, 2002; Taylor, 1989). I believe that no one country could ever claim to be 'developed', and dislike the awkward comparison made between the two, where one often seems superior to the other. 'Development' seems to suggest a linear path through which all nations must go, where some are higher up the moral order than others (Taylor, 1989; Shanin, 1997). This I am uncomfortable with. However, when discussing issues around international development, it seemed difficult to avoid using such terms, and I found any alternative terminology e.g. third world and first world/ western and southern countries, were also laced with implicit implications of superiority and inferiority. Therefore, I use the inverted commas to display this discomfort, whilst allowing the narrative to continue. Further, I use this phrasing for ease of collective description rather than to homogenize the diverse cultures and social and political histories operating in these areas. Indeed, addressing the terminology of development has been the sole focus of many books and journal articles, particularly those using post-colonial critiques (Taylor, 1989; Chew and Lauderdale, 2010; Forbes, 1981; Slater, 2017; Cannon, 1975, Spivak and Harasym, 2014). As such, I bring to light the issue here, but only as a relevant element of this thesis where the focus lies elsewhere.

# 2. Geographical Perspectives on Religion

> 'Religion has been the last great otherness in geography; that which has been shunned and swerved around by the general practice of the subject, which in the whole remains resolutely secular in nature and cautious about conceiving of religion as being interconnected with progressive ethics or politics' (Cloke et al, 2019, 6).

This chapter begins by providing a broad picture of how religion has been discussed in geographical debates to provide a context for my research. Here I show that whilst religion may have formerly been shunned by many geographers, many aspects of religion are becoming of increasing interest to geographical research agendas. Emerging areas of interest include research on secularism and post-secularism, which this chapter will proceed to discuss. Following this, I introduce the concepts of spiritual and religious capital and explore the various ways practioners and scholars have defined and used these concepts to aid their research on religion and spirituality. I then conclude by showing how I will use the concepts of spiritual and religious capital to aid my research on Christian international volunteering.

## 2:0 Introduction: Geographies of Religion

Religious beliefs are central to the lives of many, from the banal everyday actions, like the food eaten and clothes worn, to the shaping of vital life events such as births, deaths, marriages. Indeed religion can influence the construction of an individual's identity, ethics and life course. Yet, until recently, geographers have been considered 'religiously unmusical' (Henkel, 2011) as religion was regarded by many as out of place with their academic inquiries, and was thus omitted. In 2001, Lily Kong commented, that while "race, class and gender are invariably invoked and studied as ways by which societies are fractured, religion is forgotten or conflated with race" (Kong, 2001; 212). Similarly, Yorgasson and della Dora (2009) contend that religion is the final 'terra incognita' in geographical inquiry, owing to the fact it is often studied for its relevance to secular spatial theories, as opposed to being studied in its own right (see also Sopher, 1981; Pacione, 1999; Cooper, 1992; Holloway, 1998, Levine, 1986). Yet, in 2010, Kong remarked how the geographies of religion could no longer be considered of declining interest. Investigation into the powerful role religion and spirituality have on a range of geographical scales has recently been developed (Holloway & Valins, 2002). Crossovers between religion and other geographical issues, such as gender, climate change, welfare provision and mobility, have repositioned religion and spirituality as a field of interest within geography (Bartolini et al, 2017; Holloway and Valins 2002; Yorgason and della Dora 2009; Kong 2010).

The role and place of religion is now a key interest of many geographers, both theoretically and empirically. Religion has been regarded as of interest to all social scientists due to its power to not only dictate social norms, but also the power to subvert them (Yorgason & della Dora, 2009). Indeed, many religious communities have international reach, yet a local influence. This makes them key actors for addressing global issues such as poverty, injustice and sustainability. Holloway and Valins (2002) question whether current theoretical concepts adequately make sense of who people are when engaging in religious narratives, and contend there is a need for geographers to more fully investigate religious beliefs and the contribution they make to the world we live in. Avenues in which to explore this have since been provided by 'geographies emotional turn' (Anderson and Smith, 2001). One such way geographers have engaged in this is through post-secularist research. This section now turns to

exploring how the concept of the postsecular emerged, how it is being used and how it advances geographical understandings of religion and its place and contribution in contemporary society.

## 2.1: Secularisation and Postsecularism

When thinking about religion and society, there have been numerous lines of thought in recent years. Some have contended that we live in a 'post-Christian age' (White, 1967) and that secularisation is being felt worldwide (Bruce, 2002). The secularisation thesis (Berger, 1967) suggested that religion would cease to be a relevant discourse in society throughout the process of modernisation. Social science literature has historically perceived religion and spirituality as mythical, and whose adverse impacts on society would be replaced with sound scientific thinking. Weber (1976) for instance, links processes of capitalist modernisation with a disenchantment with religion. He argues that the magical, the mysterious and the incalculable had been replaced by bureaucracy and scientific rationalism, and thereby public life was stripped of ultimate and sublime values. In this, religious thinkers, practioners and institutions lose significance (Weber, 1969). Rawls (1997) argues for religious discourses to be excluded from political discussions in modern society, as non-adherents of such religions will find their doctrines inaccessible, incoherent and inappropriate. Marx, in 1844, argued that religion was `the opium of the people' (Marx and Engels, 1959, 3). Similarly, Freud (1949, 74) believed religion to be nothing more than an `infantile' response and `the adult' s reaction to his own sense of helplessness'. A 'reasoned' society will function with religion excluded from the public realm (a notion initially supported by Habermas, heralded by many as the pioneer of postsecularism).

Many churches and religious communities withdrew much of the social intervention work throughout the twentieth century. This was coupled with the practising of faith becoming more individualised and concerned with personal ritual and doctrine, as opposed to wider social responsibility (Habermas 2010). In short, the death of religion became a large part of social science inquiry through much of the twentieth century, which according to Casanova (1994), supported three main assumptions. The first of these was that the belief and practice of religion would decline as the truth claims became implausible (see also Berger, 1967). Secondly, religion would become confined to the private realm alone. Thirdly, religion would cease to be influential in state and social formation.

Yet, the secularisation theory is easy to refute when considering the persistent refusal of religion to disappear completely in places like western Europe, and by the thriving nature of religiosity in other areas of the world such as Latin and North America, sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific Rim. Additionally, others contend that it is too simplistic to suggest there is an easy dichotomy between the religious and the secular, particularly given the religiously plural contexts in most places across the world (Yorgason and della Dora, 2009). Tse (2013) argues that the modern world remains theologically constituted through a proliferation of new religious subjectivities, some including atheistic ones. Secularisation in this instance, is not necessarily a disappearance of religion, rather a fluctuating landscape where a decline in institutional Christianity is coupled with an increased diversity where other religions are gaining momentum, and spirituality and non-institutional religions or faiths are established. No one theory can capture the complexity of becoming secular, if becoming secular is even occurring. Many of the supporters of the secularisation thesis have since remarked on the resilience of religion and its persistence in remaining a key actor in civil society. As such, Stark and Finke (2000) called for the burial of the secularisation thesis in the graveyard of misrepresentations and failed theories.

Habermas (2010) points to a more recent reversal of religious privatisation trends, where FBOs and religious communities are using their voices to campaign on global issues of social justice. In this way,

the previously hushed up voice of religion is being released back into the public sphere. Casanova (2011) then made amendments to the secularisation thesis, acknowledging that despite the many and diverse secularisations and modernities in Western Europe, religion remains a relevant and influential actor in contemporary society. In 1999, Berger also renounced his former support of the secularisation theory (Berger 1967) and states 'my point is that the assumption that we live in a secularized world is false. The world today, with some exceptions… is furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever' (Berger, 1999, 2). Decreased associations with formal religious institutions in places like the UK, and across wider western Europe, could perhaps be explained by Gracie Davie's (1990) notion of 'believing without belonging'. In this, traditional religions may be witnessing a decline, but forms of spirituality and a belief in the transcendent continue outside of formal institutionalised religion. Religion, faith, spirituality and belief are thus still an integral part of society. As in other disciplines, a recognition that the secularisation thesis did not adequately explain the trajectory of religion in society has led to an increased attention by many geographers to the role of spirituality, faith and religion in various arenas of public life. Indeed, many social and cultural thinkers such as Derrida, Deleuze, Agamben, Badiou and Žižek, have all referred to the significance of religion in society, particularly as prompts in the pursuit of justice and hope.

Drawing on the pioneering work of Jürgen Habermas (2005, 2006a) and Klaus Eder (2006), the postsecular opposes the notion that the more modern society becomes, the more secularised it becomes. Further, it challenges the idea that the role of religion is declining in the public sphere by recognising both the diverse secularist and religious positionalities that abide in, and influence, society (Berger et al, 2008). Despite the movement in some European nations from the 'relatively religious to the rather secular' (Woodhead, 2012; 374), it is evident that religion has not disappeared and ceased to exist outside an individual's private life, and continues to have an influential and active role in society (Kong, 2010). Further, Heelas and Woodhead (2005) argue that in the west, a process of secularisation and sacralisation are simultaneously occurring. In this, traditional forms of religion are registering declining levels of affiliation, yet alternative forms of spirituality are increasing. Habermas (2005; 2006a), despite being an advocate of the secularisation thesis in his early career, outlines the development of a more complex interrelationship between religion and secularity, where the previously 'hushed-up' voice of religion is being released back in to the public sphere, resulting in a convergence of secular and theological narratives to meet specific practical needs. In 2010, he defines 'what is missing' from society as an appreciation of the transcendental roots that contribute to ideas of human dignity and justice. Religion here gains influence as it contributes to public opinion on moral and ethical issues, and as a community of service and care.

### 2.1.1: Understanding the Postsecular

The term 'postsecular' has become complex over the years, as different dimensions are used interchangeably across disciplines. In what follows I will give an overview of the different ways the postsecular has been used by different scholars and critics, followed by an explanation of where I see the postsecular contributing to my research. For some, the postsecular represents an epochal shift from a secular age to a postsecular age, where secular frameworks have been replaced in society by religious influences (Cox, 1975). In this new era, religion is of continued and increasing importance. However, this stance has been rejected by many as they argue that a definitively secular age has never existed; the individual and social importance of religion has changed, but religion has never disappeared (Beckford, 2012; Kong 2010). Others have revealed how faith groups have not become more active as their role in social welfare has always been present, such as the longstanding work of the Salvation Army. For Berger, the postsecular is used as a radical critique of the secularisation theory.

He contends, 'values such as democracy, freedom, equality, inclusion, and justice may not necessarily be best pursued within an exclusively immanent secular framework. Quite the opposite, the secular may well be a potential site of isolation, domination, violence and exclusion' (ibid). Habermas (2001) also alludes to the potential that religion has in providing a vital moral resource. The postsecular in this instance, is a theoretical paradigm shift in the social sciences that opposes secularity.

Habermas (2006b) uses the postsecular in a similar, yet slightly distinct way. Here he argues for a changed perspective on the place of religion in society, and a recognition that a previously unnoticed phenomenon has come to the fore. In this instance, the postsecular allows for a questioning of the secularisation thesis, without requiring a total dismissal of it. Further, it allows for an examination into what religious voices and actors can add to society and explores whether a disenchanted society is possible or desirable. The postsecular in this understanding, represents a change in thinking about modern society, where we refuse to ignore and actively acknowledge the activities that involve religious thought and practice. The postsecular, in this way, has also been used to reflect a normative positioning regarding the involvement of religion in public life.

Further, the postsecular has also been used to refer to a reawakening and re-emergence of religion in secular modernity, where it is becoming increasingly vocal and active in addressing social needs and injustices (Habermas, 2005; 2006a). Within the broad context of post-Christendom, religious positions shifted to the private sphere. However, with the rise of neoliberal policies and the withdrawal of direct government welfare provision, faith groups have risen in prominence, filling the gap left by the diminishing welfare state. Taylor (2011) broadens the focus of the postsecular, arguing that its narrow focus on the relationship between the nation state and religious establishments has left questions of the broader state response to diversity unaddressed. In this way, the postsecular can provide an avenue to examine how everyday religion, and everyday religious or moral practices, interact in pluralistic public spheres. For Gökariksel and Secor (2015) the postsecular refers to a problematic that allows them to deconstruct the categories it is based on (religion and secularism). They then build on the work of Taylor (2011) by exploring how different religious ways of being and other moral systems interact in everyday life in Istanbul.

In geography, postsecular research has most frequently been directed in urban areas in the UK (Middleton and Yarwood, 2015; Beaumont and Baker 2011; Cloke et al 2011, 2013b), Canada (Ley, 2008), and the Netherlands (Beaumont 2008; Beaumont and Dias, 2008). This body of work explores the influences religious values and groups have had on issues such as poverty, social justice, social exclusion and welfare care. Cloke et al (2013b) reveal how FBOs are increasingly emerging as a significant provider of welfare and care, both locally, and as part of wider networks of local global activity. Their efforts focus on a range of services including: food banks, employment advice centres, drug rehabilitation services, youth support services, educational facilities, counselling and guidance centres, support services for offenders and ex-offenders and pastoral care in late-night cities.

### 2.1.2: Emerging Trends of Postsecularity

Cloke et al (2019) have moved away from using the phrase 'post-secular' or 'post-secularism', favouring the term 'post-secularity' (see also 'postsecular rapprochement', Cloke and Beaumont, 2012). They describe postsecularity as,

> 'a more context-contingent bubbling up of ethical values arising from amalgams of faith-related and secular determination to relate differently to alterity and become active in support of others by going beyond the social bubble of the normal habitus. These ethical

> values are marked by an explicit 'crossing over' of religious and secular narratives, practices, and performances that become visible in key geographical expressions of overcoming difference; in certain spaces devoted to care, welfare, justice, and protest, and in certain expressions of dynamic subjectivity characterised by greater degrees of in-commonness and heightened care for the common good' (Cloke et al, 2019; 3).

Postsecularity, for Cloke et al (2019), is not a new era where secularisation has ended or been reversed with religious groups reappearing, nor is it about the co-constitution of the secular and religious in life. Rather, postsecularity reflects the joining of religious and non-religious (and different religious) voices and people to partner together to meet a particular need. Commonly such partnerships require respect and openness to difference, translation of theologies, learning, change and transformation. Acknowledging the limits of one's own standpoint and being open to other frameworks of reason is crucial (Habermas and Ratzinger, 2006). These cross-cultural partnerships often exist as a form of resistance against self-interested capitalism, and favour values of generosity, hospitality and justice. Postsecularity places a greater emphasis on the process and negotiation involved in such partnerships and attempts to make sense of how the religious and non-religious co-exist (see also Ratti, 2013). In this way, the former binaries between faith and secularity are challenged and blurred. Such partnerships have also been heralded as a normative ideal, or a goal, as to what society could be (Cloke et al, 2019). In this, postsecularity could be read as a learning process in which religious and secular narratives and mentalities can be negotiated and transformed, rather than remaining in subaltern and dominant positions respectively (Habermas, 2005; 2006b).

Accompanying increased globalisation, migration and multiculturalism, is the emergence of these religious/secular crossovers, resulting in amalgamations of ethical values and spiritual and secular frameworks, commonly in response to, and resistance against, global and cultural transformations. Such partnerships are compounded by austerity measures that have left gaps in service provisions. Countless people, inspired by many different religious or non-religious motives are thus coming together, leaving their differences at the door, and uniting to meet these needs. For many, such crossovers and partnerships falsify the assumption that we live in a secularized world (Berger, 1999), yet for others, they reveal the changing landscape of religious involvement in society, i.e. the demise of more traditional forms of religious life, and have thus restated the secularization thesis (Bruce, 1996).

### 2.1.3: The Postsecular Problematized

Yet the postsecular has received considerable pushbacks. For instance, some have argued that it does not offer anything new and the topics it concerns are being addressed using already existing concepts (Kong, 2010). Additionally, it has been critiqued for focussing on religion at the expense of spirituality (Bartolini et al, 2007). Further, Beckford (2012) contends that the postsecular is not a helpful term due to its inability to be applied globally. Secularisation, if it has or is occurring, is not a worldwide phenomenon, with many nations registering continued or growing religious affiliations. The postsecular then puts forward a simplistic view of the secular, is short sighted in history, and bands the many different religions into one category, which could reduce investigations into the intricate nuances of each religion and the value and/or problems its presents for society (ibid). Others have urged caution against engaging with the postsecular, contending that it supports a normative desire to re-centre religion in social concerns (Dalferth, 2009).

The postsecular is a contested term, used in many different ways with questions and pushbacks surrounding it. For instance, should the postsecular be used when the secularisation theory has been

widely refuted? Can the postsecular exist when it could be argued that the secular never really existed? (see Ward, 2014). Others have critiqued the term for being Eurocentic (Asad, 2003), where much of the research is focussed in Western Europe. This could partly be explained by the fact that the relative decline of religion has been most intensely observed in Western Europe, but consequently, a globalised picture of the postsecular is left unaccounted for, as well as discussions of whether postsecular is even useful when thinking beyond Western Europe.

### 2.1.4 Using the postsecular

In this thesis, the postsecular is not used to describe a new age where religion had once disappeared and has now come to the fore, nor is it a criticism of the secularisation thesis (this is not to say the secularisation thesis is supported). Rather, the postsecular is used to frame the research context and as an analytical tool to explore the increasingly active and significant role of faith in international development discussions and activities. In the past, religion has often been overlooked in geography, however recent work on the postsecular has contributed to this past omission. Yet, postsecularist research is yet to consider the activities of young religious individuals who travel overseas during their gap years. In society, taking part in Christian international volunteering has become an increasingly common practice amongst young people in the UK. Further, FBOs are playing an increasingly important role in international development (Tomalin, 2017). As such, I seek to contribute to these existing geographic discussions on postsecularism by offering a case study of young Christian individuals who travel overseas, commonly with international development organisations.

Postsecularist research within geography has frequently focussed on urban areas in western countries. My research seeks to offer an insight into the way religion can be seen in the transnational activities of young Christians from the UK, travelling to rural areas in Tanzania, thereby offering a different insight into the ways religion can be seen in society. This therefore compliments existing geographical research of the role of FBOs in the UK (Beaumont and Baker 2011; Cloke et al 2013a), Canada (Ley, 2008), the Netherlands (Beaumont 2008; Beaumont and Dias, 2008) and Brazil, (Fois, 2017a). My research will also add a trans-local connection, where I consider the connections between FBOs based in 'developed countries' and FBOs based in 'developing countries', and what role international volunteers play in these connections.

## 2.2 Religion and Secularity

The danger of operating in the context of post-secularism is that religion and secularity become siloed and seen as oppositional. However, in reality they often operate alongside each other, constantly being redefined in relation to the other. For instance, religious individuals do not operate in a solely religious sphere and are influenced not just by their religion, but by their politics, age, class, gender, ethnicity etc. Berger (2006) reflects this notion in his work on pluralism, he states;

> I would argue that modernity very likely, but not inevitably, leads to pluralism, to a pluralization of worldviews, values, etc., including religion, and I think one can show why that is. It's not a mysterious process. It has to do with certain structural changes and their effects on human institutions and human consciousness. I would simply define pluralism as the coexistence in the society of different worldviews and value systems under conditions of civic peace and under conditions where people interact with each other. Pluralism and the multiplication of choices, the necessity to choose, don't have to lead to secular choices. They can lead to religious choices – the rise of fundamentalism in various

> forms, for example – but they change the character of how religion is both maintained institutionally and in human consciousness. (Berger, 2006: 152–53).

Here we see this idea that religion and secularity co-exist and whilst in some ways, secularity and religion may be oppositional, i.e. beliefs about the transcendent, in many other ways they exist alongside each other and an individual is likely to operate within, and be influenced by, both religious and secular belief systems. Ivakhiv (2006) and Dittmer (2007) posit that in order to understand religion more deeply, we need to move the 'focus from the object of religion to the subjects who contextualise it' (Dittmer, 2007: 737). My research seeks to build on this by seeking to understand the values and practices of those taking part in Christian international volunteer programmes. Here it will be essential to remember that individuals make religious meanings by deconstructing, interweaving, and reproducing a mixture of secular and marginal religious affects and discourses (Wilford, 2010). Faith then is fluid, relational and influenced by secular processes and vice versa. Megoran's (2010) work on an evangelical 'Reconciliation Walk' shows the way evangelical individuals may change or alter their beliefs and values based on encounters and experiences with other religious and non-religious individuals.

In reflection of this work, this thesis stresses that religion and secularity are not understood as oppositional, rather they operate simultaneously with individuals drawing on both religious and secular theologies, worldviews, values and practices to inform their daily lives. Theology is messy and the way one individual applies this theology to their lives may be different from another individual, or may be different to how they apply it to their own lives in the future. In many cases, religion and secularity work together to achieve common goals. It is within this sphere where religions and secularity co-exist and work together that many FBOs and Christian international volunteer programmes operate. For instance, many UK based Christian international development charities receive funding from DFID to achieve shared goals in overseas aid, development and relief representing a coming together or religion, secularity and geopolitical interests. Due to this religious and secular co-existence in Christian international volunteer programmes, their activities, goals and outcomes are likely to reflect this overlapping of religious and secular spheres and as we shall see in the empirics of this thesis, it can sometimes be hard to distinguish between religious motivation and action and secular motivations and actions.

In order to delve deeper into discussions of the religion, the postsecular and faith-based international volunteering, the conceptual tools of religious and spiritual capital are drawn upon. Such tools enable an understanding of how faith influences the lives of those who practise it, and how in turn people of faith and religious ideas influence wider society. This thesis now turns to outline and review the concepts of religious and spiritual capital, followed by an overview of how these concepts are utilised throughout this thesis.

## 2.3: Religious and Spiritual Capital

Baillie-Smith et al (2013) comment that relatively little is known about the complex subjectivities that shape a citizen's engagement with development, particularly in relation to religion, faith and spirituality. This lacuna, and subsequent call for more research, is an area this thesis seeks to contribute to. In order to understand this more fully, I utilise the concepts of spiritual and religious capital. Similar to the postsecular, spiritual and religious capital have come to mean different things to different people, and are often used interchangeably. What one author may define as religious capital is what another author may term spiritual capital. Indeed, even within some papers, authors use the terms interchangeably, with no distinctions or definitions provided. As such, this thesis

outlines the diverging ways the concepts have been used, and calls for a greater clarity and distinction when engaging with these concepts. Following a brief discussion on social and cultural capital, this chapter proceeds to reveal the way pioneering thinkers on religious and spiritual capital have utilised the concepts. After that, I outline the way I use the concepts in this thesis. It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive outline of authors using spiritual and religious capital; rather it is an outline of those considered forerunners in the delineation of the concepts, and those that bare most relevance to my discussions of Christian international volunteering.

### 2.3.1: Social and Cultural capital

In many instances, religious and spiritual capital are referred to as subsets of social capital or cultural capital. Social capital relates to the mutual benefits derived from reciprocally cooperative and helpful relationships with other people; and the process by which individuals secure these benefits through belonging to networks and social structures (Putnam, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital on the other hand, refers to knowledge and skills, acquired through education, which can be used to acquire money, status and jobs. Bourdieu deploys the term cultural capital to refer to skills and knowledge, and the behavioural conventions attached to them that serve as a means to achieving or maintaining a certain social status (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital is deployed as a metaphor for mobilisable resources in most instances, and religious and spiritual capital are useful terms in helping to understand what is gained from religious beliefs and involvement, as well as how such gains become resources to aid and inform a faith groups engagement with civil society.

### 2.3.3: Locating Spiritual and Religious capital

Religious capital, according to Iannaccone (1990), is the 'skills and experience specific to one's religion including religious knowledge, familiarity with church ritual and doctrine, and friendships with fellow worshippers' (Iannaccone, 1990 p 229). Such skills and experiences are positioned as a central determinant in producing and appreciating religious commodities and activities. In this way, religious capital could be viewed as a productivity enhancing skill. Finke's (2003) definition of religious capital resonates with that of Iannaccone (1990), as it is positioned as a commodity that enables the appreciation of religious services and activities. Finke (2003) contends, 'religious capital consists of the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture… Together these emotional attachments and the mastering of a religion become investments that build up over time and constitute religious capital. This capital helps to explain the religious activity and satisfaction of individuals' (Finke, 2003, 3). Finke (2003) however entitles his paper spiritual capital, yet proceeds to talk about religious capital as if the terms were synonymous. Through this, we can see how a clearer delineation between spiritual and religious capital is needed for these debates to move forward and for a more nuanced understanding of these forms of capital to be gained.

Park and Smith (2000) refer to the concept of religious capital as a subset of social and cultural capital (see also Caputo 2009), and use the concept to inform their understanding of volunteering amongst churchgoers. They identified four sources of religious capital that promoted volunteering beyond church attendance. The first of these is religiosity (one's behaviours and attitudes toward religion), second, religious socialization (exposure to religious values and behaviours during one's formative years), thirdly, religious identity (sense of belonging to a particular religious tradition or movement), and fourthly religious social networks (the degree of access to other religious adherents). In this, religious capital is viewed as a motivator, promotor and enabler of volunteering activities. Religiosity is viewed as a form of cultural capital, where one obtains religious attitudes and behaviours through

religious observation and practice. Such religious attitudes and behaviours have demonstrated a clear history of promoting social participation, altruistic behaviours and volunteering (Wilson and Janoski, 1995). Park and Smith's (2000) definition of religious capital is akin to those of Iannaccone (1990) and Finke (2003), but instead of relating it to one's own benefit and appreciation of religious commodities and activities, it is extended to the benefits this can bring to the wider community.

Verter (2003) expands the discussion on different forms of faith-based capital by drawing on the work of Bourdieu to outline the concept of spiritual capital. Spiritual capital is viewed as a subset of cultural capital, referring to the attainment and spread of religious cultural resources. In this, spiritual capital is distinct from Bourdieu's religious capital that positions religious capital as something that is produced and accumulated within a hierocratic institutional framework. Spiritual capital then, is defined as 'a more widely diffused commodity, governed by more complex patterns of production, distribution, exchange and consumption' (Verter, 2003, 158). Spiritual capital is also distinct from the religious capital of Iannaccone (1990), Finke (2003) and Park and Smith (2000). Verter (2003) pushes back against the institutional edges these definitions have, as well as the lack of fluidity and space for change and transformation. Spiritual capital allows a move away from hierarchy, to consider the agency of the layperson. In this, spiritual capital is not a stable currency, and is perceived as extra institutional.

Baker and Skinner (2006) utilise both concepts of religious and spiritual capital to analyse the engagement of various churches in civil society in Manchester, UK. In this way, they expand on the definitions offered by Bourdieu (1986), Verter (2003), Iannaccone (1990) and Finke (2003) to not only focus on how spiritual and religious capital can be a resource for individuals, but how it can relate to the interactions of faith groups with wider society, similar to Park and Smith (2000). For Baker and Skinner (2006), spiritual capital 'refers to the values, ethics, beliefs and vision which faith communities bring to civil society at the global and local level. It also refers to the holistic vision for change held within an individual person's set of beliefs. Spiritual capital in this form can be described as more *liquid* than solid because it relates to intangibles such as ideas and visions and is not exclusively claimed by a specific religious tradition' (Baker and Skinner, 2006, 12, original emphasis). Spiritual capital focusses principally on the transformation of individuals in both a spiritual and personal way through using personal stories and events. The role of emotions, self-emptying, forgiveness, transformation and learning are valued within spiritual capital (ibid). The idea of God being at work within the transformation process forms the basis for this concept. Spiritual capital illuminates the reasoning for the actions of churches and religious individuals and operates on a more personal level. Spiritual capital is the *why* behind the actions of churches and their members (ibid).

On the other hand, religious capital reflects 'the pragmatic and functional out-workings of spiritual capital and so can be described as the *solid* dimension. Religious capital is put into practice by faiths in institutional or network form - supporting practical work within their own communities, as well as participating in other areas of social and public life for the benefit of wider society' (Baker and Skinner, 2006, 12, original emphasis). Religious capital involves theological language and thought, and promotes the confronting of philosophies and injustice, providing alternative norms and values to that of the marketplace or government. It also provides local leadership and physical space to enable community engagement, and invests in the individuals in their group, acknowledging that these individuals are their main resources. Thus, religious capital could be argued as the practical contribution religious groups make to society; it is the *what* behind the actions of faith groups and their members.

Baker and Skinner (2006) use these definitions of spiritual and religious capital to complement the concept of social capital and refer to the sets of relationships within any organisation that can bring

benefits to individuals, that can be stored up and used as resources when needed. Overlaps with social capital are common, but distinctive elements regarding faith and theological identity are also present. Religious capital (and the spiritual capital that energises it) can be viewed as a resource individuals can use for the wellbeing of themselves or others (Baker and Skinner, 2006). Religious capital then is the externalisation of spiritual capital.

### 2.3.4: Using Spiritual and Religious Capital

The approach I take when using spiritual and religious capital resonates most strongly with the work of Park and Smith (2000) and Baker and Skinner (2006). In this, I view religious and spiritual capital as mobilisable resources that are used to benefit both oneself and others within the wider community. Religious and spiritual capital are vehicles in helping achieve something, they can function as both an input and an output and they can inspire action and be inspired by action. I refer to religious capital principally as the *what* that religious individuals and groups do, or as the practical contribution made to society; whereas spiritual capital is the *why* that energises the *what*. Religious capital relates to religious institutions, structures and networks that make something happen, but spiritual capital refers to theology, motivations and beliefs that inspire something to take place. I acknowledge that spiritual and religious capital could be working simultaneously in many instances, yet I maintain there are ways they can be distinct, offering unique contributions to the actions of faith groups or individuals. In this way, I adopt the approach of Baker and Skinner (2006), as it allows a discussion into how one develops their religious and spiritual capital, but also how these resources can be mobilised for the benefit of others. Considering many international volunteering practices centre around claims of helping others, taking this approach will be valuable in assessing the volunteer's motivations to volunteer, how the volunteering practice informs their spirituality, as well as the contribution they make to society.

To explain further, spiritual and religious capital are mobilisable resources many parties within international volunteering can gain and use for personal benefit and the benefit of others. For instance, the FBOs who recruit the volunteers may be interested in promoting the spiritual capital of the volunteers and investing in their spiritual growth or relationship with God. However, they may also be interested in investing in their religious capital through exposing the volunteers to the work the FBO is doing in different communities across the world. Such exposure educates the volunteers on global issues of injustice, motivating these volunteers to become active in fighting these injustices, which thus increases the influence and practical contribution the FBO has on global civil society. This demonstrates how religious and spiritual capital can be simultaneously involved in the activities of an FBO, but also how they can be used for the benefit of others. Such investment in these volunteers may also provide reciprocal benefit for the FBO. For instance, through investing in the spiritual and religious capital of the volunteers, they create links and relationships that could lead to volunteers investing resources in the FBO in the future. This reveals how mobilising spiritual and religious capital can bring benefit to oneself (or to one's organisation). Due to the networks of different actors involved in the practice of international volunteering, religious and spiritual capital will be used to describe both the benefits these resources can bring to oneself (Iannaccone, 1990; Verter, 2003; Finke, 2003), but also to others (Baker and Skinner, 2006; Park and Smith, 2000). In this way, spiritual and religious capital will help make sense of who people are when engaging with religious narratives, and the contribution they make to the world we live in (Holloway and Valins, 2002).

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of how aspects of religion have been explored and discussed in the geographical disciple and thus provided a context for the religious angle of my

research. In Chapter 3, I provide a background for other relevant bodies of work, namely international volunteering and global citizenship. I firstly focus on these concepts from a secular perspective, before bringing in elements of religion, faith and spirituality and outlining key areas my research will contribute to.

# 3. International Volunteering and Global Citizenship

## 3.0: Introduction

In 2019, celebrity film maker, journalist and TV presenter Stacey Dooley came under criticism from MP David Lammy for being a 'white saviour' after she posted a picture of herself with a Ugandan child on Instagram with the caption 'OB.SSSSSSSSSED' (BBC News, 2019a). This discussion caught the attention of many as Lammy highlighted the damaging stereotypes celebrities and organisations like Comic Relief present about African countries in their fundraising materials. In these, celebrities are shown to give grand gestures of compassion and generosity to help various communities, yet in reality they often spend very little time in these communities. Further, the experience and agency of the celebrity is centralised in these fundraising videos, with the voices of the communities themselves and footage of their ongoing development projects featuring less.

These discussions touch on many of the themes this chapter will explore, such as the benefits and challenges of using short term international volunteers as development actors, ideas of global citizenship, cosmopolitanism, morality and global responsibility, expressions of 'othering' and paternalistic care, and discussions about power, justice and inequality. These issues will be deliberated firstly from a non-faith perspective, then after this, the role of religion, faith and spirituality will be woven into these discussions.

## 3.1: Global Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism

During the 20th and 21st centuries, rapid globalisation and the rise of global mass media has raised the profile of those in the global south, and has frequently reported on natural disasters, poverty, famines, social disturbances and other crises. People and information have become more mobile, allowing for people who live thousands of miles apart to become familiar with the daily lives and plights of others. In this, opportunities for us to redefine our ethical and moral responsibilities in relation to people who live far away have arisen. Related to ideas and notions of morality, Baillie-Smith (2016) writes about the rise in ideas and practices of 'global citizenship' as a significant feature, past and present, of international development. Whilst the term has been used in many, and often contradictory ways, it generally refers to the creation of citizens who have a global conscience. Since the 1990s, not only has the term gained significant scholarly attention, it has also been incorporated into educational curriculums and goals.

Dower (2002) outlines a global citizen as someone who 'is a member of the wider community of all humanity, the world or similar whole that is wider than that of a nation-state or other political community of which we are normally thought to be citizens. This membership is important in the sense that it involves (or would involve if people accept that they are global citizens) a significant identity, loyalty or commitment beyond the nation-state' (Dower, 2002; 1). The participation in public deliberation and activities for the global common good are essential components of global citizenship (Dower and Williams, 2002). Political philosophers such as Singer (2004), Rawls (1999), and Dower (2002) spoke of a responsibility for the 'other' that demonstrates, implicitly or explicitly, notions of global citizenship. Rawls, for instance, notes that the west has a duty of assistance to burdened societies (Rawls, 1999) and Dower (2002) proposes that global citizenship is 'premised on the belief that agents have global responsibilities to help make a better world and that they are part of large-scale networks of concern' (Dower, 2002, 7). In this way, global citizenship refers to mind-sets,

attitudes, identities, relationships and actions. It is a way to imagine a global community to which one belongs and is connected to others human beings, where all human beings are recognised as equal, without diminishing diversity.

This contemporary idea of global citizenship has developed out of the idea of cosmopolitanism, world citizenship and the ideal of world governance (Jefferess, 2008). Cosmopolitanism is frequently spoken about in conjunction with global citizenship. The concept signifies how an individual's identity and ethical responsibility is not limited to their local community i.e. family, town, and nation. A cosmopolitan individual is able to negotiate a world of difference and divergence, including, appreciating and celebrating the 'other', with a central goal of harmonious relationships between all people (Kramer, 1997; Carter, 2013). For Appiah (2006), a cosmopolitan seeks to understand the relationships between humanity in a way that values diversity, as well as seeking to understand the role of the individual in changing structures and mindsets that construct and sustain injustice and inequality. Cosmopolitanism holds the idea that everybody matters and all human beings have obligations to each other (Appiah, 2006).

The distinction between global citizenship and cosmopolitanism is not always clear, with many authors using the terms interchangeably with no clear distinctions. It seems however, that global citizenship refers to an identity and actions done because of that identity. Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, is positioned as the way one understands their place in the world and the celebration of difference and diversity. Yet, there is significant crossover between these concepts, and it is likely that one who exhibits global citizenship tendencies is likely to also exhibit cosmopolitan tendencies. The development and expression of cosmopolitanisms and/or global citizenship have thus become common goals in international volunteering programmes.

Within discussions of global citizenship, different manifestations have been observed (see Oxley and Morris, 2013 for a fuller typology). One theory of global citizenship this thesis engages with is that of Andreotti (2006). Andreotti (2006) distinguishes between 'soft' and 'critical' global citizenship, where volunteering practices have been linked with the proliferation of the former, which focusses on poverty and helplessness, to the detriment of the latter, which centres on challenging injustices. In this, critical forms of global citizenship are ideal, yet softer forms are generally more dominant. To illustrate, this could relate to a village situated near a dangerous mountain road. Many people become injured travelling on this mountain road, so the village buys ambulances to assist the injured. Fewer people are killed as a result, but accidents still occur. Then one day a visitor comes to the village, looks at the situation and asks why these villages don't spend the money for running the ambulances on building a tunnel that goes through the mountain, as such a measure would avoid accidents in the first place. In this way, we can see that both remedies are helpful, yet the softer measure is treating symptoms and the critical targets the root causes. This critical form of global citizenship resonates with an element of Appiah's (2006) definition of cosmopolitanism regarding the challenging of structures that construct and sustain injustice and inequality. The challenge for those that work to encourage and develop the formation of these global citizenships/cosmopolitanisms, such as organisations that send international volunteers, is to recognise the different ways these can be expressed and ensure knowledge of power structures and challenges to injustices are promoted.

The concept of global citizenship is not without its contestations, with some questioning the idea that global citizenship could exist without the presence of a global state, or an apparent political community united by the same values and understandings (Turner, 2001; Parekh, 2003). Others have argued for a more nuanced understanding of the concept that moves away from classifying someone

as a global citizen or not. Arneil (2007) for example, has argued for the importance of understanding global citizenship as a process towards equality, rather than as a status. In this, citizenship is never static; it is fluid, always being created and contested (Staeheli, 2011). Additionally, individuals may express multiple citizenships and cosmopolitan worldviews simultaneously (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013). As such, there is a need to move away from asking if international volunteering produces global citizens, yet delve deeper into what influences the process of expressing one's global citizenship through volunteering, as well as how an individual's global citizenship may evolve and develop through and beyond this practice.

Further, Jefferess (2008) for instance, argues that statements around 'global responsibility' and duty of assistance (Rawls, 1999) do not recognise that whether one is considered a global citizen or not is bound up with, and often limited by, social relations of privilege and power. Such privilege and power creates insiders and outsiders, those who are able to be global citizens, and those who are not. This is particularly surprising, given that global citizenship, and its root concept of cosmopolitanism, represent ideas of a global community and universal inclusivity. In such definitions, global citizenship refers to those who are responsible, and those they feel responsible for, thus reducing the agency of the poor and reinforcing historical legacies of inequality reminiscent of colonial times. This reproduces established power inequalities, rather than contesting them, and serves to further distance and silence the poor. In this way, dominant North-South imaginaries are reproduced, echoing narratives of colonialism and imperialism. Jefferess (2008) encapsulates this critique and states

> 'while global citizenship purports simply to identify an ethical philosophy and a politics of identity, the discourse produces the global citizen as a specifically positioned subject that is constituted by the ability to act, and specifically "make a better world" *for,* rather than *with*, Others. Further, this discourse of an ethically framed identity normalizes the conditions of the privilege that allows some to be in the position to help or "make a difference…the form of imperialism has changed: race discourse and the language of inferiority and dependence have been replaced by that of culture talk, nation building and global citizenship. The notion of aid, responsibility, and poverty-alleviation retain the Other as an object of benevolence. The global citizen is somehow naturally endowed with the ability and inclination to "help" the Other"' (Jefferess, 2008; 28).

For Jefferess (2008) popular discourses of global citizenship which position global citizenship as an identity based on benevolence and pity must be rethought. In this way, the concept of global citizenship must evolve, moving away from the emphasis on 'being a helper', but including individuals and communities seeking to imagine and work towards a better world with one another, not on behalf of one another. Relatedly, examples of global citizens are commonly those from 'developed countries' and global citizenships from those considered as 'other' or from 'developing countries' are absent.

Such critiques resonate with the public discussion in 2019 regarding Comic Relief, Stacey Dooley and David Lammy. Lammy's criticism focusses on the way the experience and agency of celebrities are centred in the video appeals of Comic Relief, where little attention is given to the voices of the people who live there. The celebrities are criticised for showing grand gestures of compassion, yet knowing very little about the complex context of the country they are visiting. In a statement to the BBC, Lammy writes "I hope my comments surrounding some of the tired, unhelpful tropes, which I have now been highlighting for several years, will inspire the charity to refresh its image and think harder about the effects its output has on our perceptions of Africa - and the costly knock-on effect this has on the continent" (BBC News 2019b). Richard Curtis, co-founder of Comic Relief has since issued statements saying Comic Relief will be careful to include voices of those who live in the countries where their

projects run and move away from centring the experience of the celebrities in their video appeals (BBC News, 2019c).

There is thus a need to reconsider the way cosmopolitanisms and global citizenships are thought about to ensure issues of power and privilege are considered. That is, the concepts should not be rejected, rather expanded to incorporate these discussions around power and privilege, inclusion and exclusion. The global citizen needs to be positioned as embedded in a history of unequal power relations. Theorists such as Butler (2004), Mohanty (2003) and Appiah (2005, 2006) begin this expansion by drawing on feminist and postcolonial approaches and arguing for frameworks of global community or transnational solidarity. It is imperative for the use of the concept to be expanded to acknowledge that anyone has the potential to be a global citizen and to challenge the structural injustices that have allowed worldwide inequality, which in turn, allows some to be considered global citizens and others not. Due to such criticisms, many prefer the concept of cosmopolitanism, believing it to be particularly anti-imperial due to its commitment to diversity, self-awareness and openness to new ideas (i.e. Jefferess, 2008). However, in my experience those working in international volunteering and related sectors are more familiar with the term global citizenship. As such, I believe this concept is the most useful and relevant for my work. However, I acknowledge that the concept needs to be rethought and evolved to recognise and actively avoid these former colonial tendencies and mindsets.

The interweaving of religion, global citizenship and cosmopolitanism has received increased attention in recent years (Levitt, 2008; Van der Veer, 2001; Turner, 2001). Levitt (2008) explores whether religion is a catalyst for cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, a pioneering study given the caution of many social scientists to engage with religion when thinking about global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. In many ways, this is understandable given the actions of some religious groups and individuals that have caused violence, racism and hatred. Yet religion can, and indeed has been, mobilized by others to foster ideas of unity and dignity and partake in activities that contribute to a global common good. Further, Bowen (2004) and Marquardt (2005) show how religion has the potential to link members of a religious community to those in their home countries and to fellow believers around the world. On one level, this could be considered cosmopolitan, in that individuals can think, feel and act beyond their nation state, yet on another level, it could also be considered particularly anti-cosmopolitan as these links are confined to those within their own religious community.

Relatedly, Levitt (2008) shows how religious global citizenship has an inclusive and exclusive variety (see also Turner, 2001), where in some instances it can cause people to care only for those who belong to their religious community, while for others it can inspire care and compassion for people across the world. Van der Veer (2001) similarly acknowledges this inclusive and exclusive variety by showing how some religious communities work hard to convince others of their absolute truth, other religious communities demand members to look beyond their walls; indeed, this could also be the case within a religious tradition. Using the example of missionary movements in nineteenth-century Britain, Van der Veer (2001) posits that such movements created a public awareness that the world was larger than Britain and that British Christians had a duty towards the rest of the world. Ultimately, Levitt (2008) makes the claim against automatically dismissing religion as a catalyst for cosmopolitanism, global citizenship and social activism, and argues that this fails to recognise the potential religion has for social change.

## 3.2: International Volunteering

In 1909, the British Red Cross set up the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) scheme. The VAD volunteers worked during World War 1 in Europe and the Middle East to treat injured soldiers and civilians. The more formal practice of international volunteering can be traced back to 1851 with the formation of the Australian Volunteers International. Following that, in 1953, the United States established the International Voluntary Services, and in 1958, the Voluntary Overseas Service was established in the United Kingdom. Additionally, in the 1960s-1970s, there was increase in 'study abroad' schemes offered to university students. These organisations paved the way for increased recognition of volunteering internationally.

In recent years, short term international volunteering has become an increasingly common practice. Commonly, in conjunction with the delivering of development goals, it is mostly carried out by young people on gap years or taking career breaks, although other social groups such as retirees and diaspora communities are also involved. Generally, these individuals apply to an organisation, mostly development, justice or humanitarian orientated, who offer self-funding volunteering opportunities. These organisations then create teams, usually with a team leader who has international experience, who travel to a destination in a 'developing' country for any time between 2 weeks and a year. Activities may include a mixture of practical labour such as construction or painting, teaching, farming, caring for young children, organising sports and crafts, home visits, health care or document translation. Yet, there are many different types of international volunteering projects (McBride et al. 2003) with different goals, activities, types of volunteers and arrangements with host organisations.

Other trends in volunteering are common, such as long-term skilled volunteering, where volunteers who have been employed and trained in a specific skill reside in a 'developing' country for between 6 months and 2 years. Additionally, due to the rise in social media and use of the internet, it is becoming more common for individuals to arrange their own placements directly with host organisations, rather than going through an organisation based in their home country. Further, in many faith communities, mission activities are still common, where individuals travel overseas to bear witness to their faith and seek converts. This thesis is concerned with the short-term development volunteering done by Christian individuals. In this, there is likely to be a mixture of activities from both traditional development activities i.e. construction and teaching, to traditional mission activities i.e. organising youth groups at a local church and evangelism.

Since the practice of international volunteering has arisen, it has received increased attention and scrutiny in the public, practioner and academic realm. Attention to the effectiveness and impact of volunteers is becoming of common concern among practioners. In 2017, Voluntary Service Overseas, or VSO, an independent international development organisation, released a report entitled 'Impact beyond volunteering' (Clark and Lewis, 2017). This was a timely report, and considered the effects volunteering internationally could have on an individual long term, beyond their placement. This is particularly significant given that research done by volunteer recruitment organisations often measures the impact of a volunteering placement immediately after the placement, leaving a lack of understanding around the longer term impact of volunteering. The report is extensive and informative, revealing responses from over 3000 participants who undertook a mix of web-based discussions, in-depth interviews or surveys. The report asked three important questions, with similarities to my own research questions. They explored:

1. What is the impact of volunteering for development on the understanding, attitudes and behaviours towards inequality and social justice of individual VSO volunteers?

2. After their placement do VSO volunteers do anything differently as a result of changed understanding, attitudes and behaviours towards inequality and social justice?

3. What impact do any changes in practice have and on whom? (Clark and Lewis, 2017)

It revealed that those who volunteered had become active in their own communities and were likely to support campaigns and undertake further action, such as writing to and lobbying MPs. Additionally, the placements were likely to influence the volunteers' career paths, with many describing a desire to work for an organisation that positively affect others. Volunteers became increasingly involved in influencing others, such as by challenging negative behaviour and stereotypes, and promoting positive causes (ibid). On an individual level, volunteers acknowledged the acquisition of new skills and networks, and increased confidence, adaptability and resilience. Such changes depended on many different variables including: the type of placement and the roles during the placement, the motivations for volunteering, their pre-placement community/social/political action, the age of the volunteer, the length and area of the placement, as well as the length of time since the placement (ibid). Sin (2009), also makes a likewise conclusion, stating that "what each tourist takes out of his or her experience often results from a complex interplay between his or her original motivations, the specific context of volunteer work, and the composition of the volunteer team" (Sin, 2009, 483). Such variables reveal how volunteer placements form one part of a person's journey and cannot be considered the sole contributor to increased social action. Indeed, it is likely that volunteering attracts those who were more likely to participate in social action in the first place.

This report thus contributes significantly to understandings of volunteering and its long-term impact, particularly the benefits and contributions of the placement to the volunteers themselves and to a lesser degree, on their social action post-placement. Yet the report does not consider the voices of those who receive the volunteers, or the impact on the host community. With so many volunteers travelling overseas each year, this is surely a point worth considering (perhaps an even more important point of research), and as such, this thesis includes the opinions and perspectives of host organisations receiving volunteers. As this report was published by VSO themselves, it's possible a more positive stance on the impact of volunteering was given, perhaps to ensure the continuation of government funding. This does not mean the report should not be written off by any means, particularly given the scale of the research, but it should be read with this in mind. Further, owing to the secular nature of VSO, there is no consideration of faith within these placements. As such, it seems worthy to investigate the role of faith in international volunteering to supplement this report and understand its impacts, particularly as religious beliefs have been shown to impact people's actions, motivations for action, and cognitive processes (Holloway and Valins, 2002).

In recent years, academic voices have contributed to discussions on volunteering, focussing on many different facets and perspectives. International volunteering has long been associated with the living out of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism subjectivities, with actions transcending national boundaries that seek to contribute to the wellbeing of distant others (Lyons et al, 2012; Rovisco, 2009; Snee 2013; Baillie-Smith and Laurie, 2011). Rovisco (2009) contends that "international volunteers are more likely to adopt a cosmopolitan outlook because they are more overtly exposed to cultures, values and places that they experience as alien vis-à-vis their own cultural frames of reference" (p.267). Lorimer (2010) also details emerging trends in environmental volunteering, analysing international

conservation volunteering. The experiential, emotional and affective element of volunteering has been explored (Guiney, 2018; Schech, 2017; Griffiths, 2018), as well as how volunteers perceive the impact of their trip, principally through a relational lens (Chen, 2018; Schech et al, 2018). New trends in international volunteering have also been observed, including the professionalization and commodification of international volunteering, where the practice is undertaken to benefit one's own personal professional capital (Jones, 2011, Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Baillie- Smith et al, 2013; Noxolo, 2011). More recently, the longstanding focus on 'north-south' volunteers has been unsettled, with research now exploring the experience of volunteers volunteering in their own countries (Yea et al, 2018), as well as the experiences of 'south-south' volunteers (Baillie Smith et al, 2018).

Discussion of power, processes of neoliberalisation, neo-colonial presences and practices and post-colonial critiques are all inherent in international volunteering research. For some, volunteering can lead to emerging aspirations for social justice (Crabtree, 2008), is invaluable in awareness raising (Hanson, 2010) and transformative learning (Hanson, 2010) and can challenge uneven structures of power (Griffiths, 2014). Further, intense social interactions and encounters can form bonds of solidarity between volunteers and host communities (Zahra and McIntosh, 2007). Yet, on the other hand, volunteering programmes have also been linked to the proliferation of white superiority notions and paternalistic relations of care (Sin, 2010). Likewise, 'poor yet happy' rationalisations have been revealed, where injustices and inequalities are overlooked and legitimised by volunteers. Poverty becomes part of a culture, rather than resulting from systems of oppression and dominance. Volunteering then becomes a depoliticised form of compassion (Vrasti, 2011), where affective experiences become the central tenant of volunteer programmes, at the expense of discussions about, and resistances to, systems of oppression. The centrality of the volunteer's individual experience and agency is thus a pressing concern for many researchers analysing the overseas volunteering through neoliberalism lenses (Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011; Simpson, 2005 and Vrasti, 2013).

The rise of the gap year industry and 'voluntourism' (Lyons et al, 2012, Sin, 2009; Palacios, 2010; Wearing and McGehee, 2013), where adventure and horizon-broadening experiences are sought, has been noted (Ansell, 2008; Sherraden et al, 2008). Voluntourism has become popular due to the perceived benefits compared to mass tourism, such as the contributions it makes to local communities, without creating dependency (Wearing, 2001). For Sin (2009), these motivations that focus on the self, over the other, create an uneasy tension between desired outcomes of development in the host country, versus the personal professional development of the volunteers. Sin (2009, 481) concludes that "while volunteer tourists interviewed did allude to some change in opinions after their experiences, it was inconclusive as to whether this has led to substantial changes in their value-system, social consciousness, or willingness to volunteer in other arenas after their volunteer tourism experience". Yet others have revealed how these 'voluntourism' placements vary significantly and many have the goal of cultivating responsible citizenship and encouraging student's active involvement in social issues, ideas akin to global citizenship and cosmopolitanism (Canada and Speck, 2001). Wearing (2001) claims that volunteer tourism has the potential to induce change, specifically value change and changed consciousness.

Sin (2009) also refers to 'international service learning programmes', which focus on learning and personal development, centring on experiential learning and reflection. Service learning "speaks to our sense of duty and fairness in the world; those who can, supporting those who cannot, giving opportunities to those left behind" (Butin, 2005, 7). Such notions resonate with earlier critiques of the global citizenship concept that heralds the agency of the volunteer, or the service learner, leaving little space for the voices of those in the host community. Additionally, it could encourage the superiority mindset that causes the 'helper' to view themselves as more able than those they seek to 'help'. This

in turn, promotes harmful stereotypes and power imbalances that do little to foster the respect and humility needed for mutual learning and growth and effective international relationships.

In line with this, there has been a long standing debate as to whether international volunteering can help inform volunteers on development issues and raise their global consciousness/global citizenship (Diprose, 2012; McGehee 2012; Devereux 2008; Hanson 2010), or whether it reinforces northern superiority mindsets of 'us' and 'them'. Such mindsets resonate with the work of Edward Said, and his 'othering narratives' (Simpson 2004; Tiessen and Kumar 2013; Said 1979), which perpetuate neo-colonial stereotypes of destitute people in the global south who need the knowledge and experience of volunteers from the global north (Ansell 2008; Simpson 2004). Jones (2011) however, highlights that whilst these common criticisms do have some validity, they tend to group all forms of international volunteering together, ignoring their diversity. Further, Baillie-Smith (2016) comments that although international volunteering resonates with ideas of justice, ethics and poverty, it could also be viewed as highly neo-liberal, sometimes favouring those with the capacity for mobility, rather than those with ethical or justice commitments. Development, in this sense, could be argued to have been side-lined in international volunteering, and substituted with personal professional capital for those with the ability to invest in it. Indeed, many short-term volunteering opportunities have been critiqued for their lack of structure, key goals and explicit social justice pedagogy (Devereux 2008, Simpson, 2004).

Yet, more recently, development education has become an increasingly common part of many international volunteering schemes, often being implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the mission statement or goals of the sending organisation. Development education is understood as a 'complex, contested and constantly evolving concept' (Landorf et al. 2008, 222). Broadly speaking, it seems to be understood as initiatives and programmes, as well as experiential learning, which seeks to promote values in a globalised world, lessons about global interdependence and raises awareness of poverty, inequality and social and environmental injustices. Questions such as, 'is it possible that volunteering internationally can help volunteers think globally?' 'Do volunteers return from their placements with more nuanced understanding and engagement with international development, poverty and justice?' have been asked by many, and Diprose (2012) analyses a case study of Platform 2, a pilot 'Global Learning' scheme funded by the UK government to explore such questions. Diprose (2012) encapsulates the development education goals of sending organisations, stating that they

> "can be linked with the Freirian pedagogic concepts of praxis and critical consciousness (Freire 1970, 2001; Lewis 2006). Praxis here means value-driven experiential learning involving facilitated cycles of action, reflection and transformative action. It aims to develop students' critical awareness of their positionality and power in relation to others, as well as historical and structural forces that mediate these relationships. It raises awareness whilst also encouraging students to see how change is possible in their own actions, nurturing solidarity and ethical intervention. The measure of success in such an approach is not necessarily what volunteers achieve within projects, but their experiences of transformed consciousness and what enduring impact, if any, this has on attitudes, values and behaviour (Hanson 2010)." (Diprose, 2012, 188)

Impact, in this sense, is not measured by how many schools are painted or how many wells are built, but rather by the mindsets, values, knowledge and actions of the volunteers in relation to

development and international relations. For Platform 2, the concern is not necessarily what the volunteers do whilst on placement, but what they do when they arrive home. During their placement, the activities such as construction and teaching were combined with interviews with the host organisation and local community, to hear their perspective on development issues.

Diprose (2012) then addresses the potentialities and pitfalls of the Platform 2 development education programme, finding that volunteers showed some nuanced understanding of the complexity of poverty and development. Stereotypes had been challenged and volunteers engaged critically in the role of short-term volunteers in development. Yet, this knowledge was limited in some respects, with volunteers showing little awareness of the causes behind the north-south divide, interpreting their wealth as 'luck' and describing host organisations as backward and 'poor yet happy' (Diprose, 2012; Simpson, 2004). Volunteers, in this instance, built relationships and had intimate encounters with those in their destination community (Rovisco, 2009) and spoke of being humbled by their time away (Diprose, 2012). This was experienced particularly by those living with a host family. These emotional connections have been viewed as a catalyst for acting ethically (Osler and Starkey, 2003) and could contribute to the development and expression of global citizenships (Diprose, 2012). Diprose (2012) reveals a shortcoming in some development education strategies when they assume the international experience and new values, attitudes and behaviours fostered, neatly translate into local action. For the returning volunteers, development felt 'out there' and distant, and they struggled to translate thinking globally to acting locally. In line with Baillie-Smith and Laurie (2011), Diprose (2012) thus problematizes the practice of sending volunteers to 'developing countries', treating such countries as a global learning playground for development learning and initiating civic action in the UK. In the case of Platform 2, the development pedagogy did not attempt to link international development with domestic development or local manifestations of global issues (Diprose, 2012).

Research has also gone beyond the formal pedagogic strategies of international volunteering schemes, with some authors considering the importance of informal learning spaces in fostering global citizenship (Le Bourdon, 2018). Le Bourdon (2018) outlines these spaces as 'micro-level interactions in between and beyond structured educational activities where informal and organic interactions take place. These natural encounters… are fertile sites for global citizenship education' (Le Bourdon, 2018, 112). It is in these spaces that learners can critically discover and explore topics relating to development, global justice and international relations in a slow reflective manor. This is positioned against the education in formalised/school settings that has been critiqued for focussing on 'softer' forms of global citizenship, which promote charity and helplessness, yet fail to show the complexity and root causes of global issues and injustices (Andreotti, 2006). Time and space are needed for individuals to reflect on their position in the world, how it might be affecting others, and how they can take positive action concerning this (Ashbrand, 2008). Le Bourdon (2018) focusses on meals and times of play or relaxation within her research, revealing how the cultural interactions created relationships and bonding, trust building and global learning. Relatedly, Cloke and Perkins (1998, 189) and Crouch and Desforges (2003, 7) speak of a "sensuous experience", where volunteer tourism can provide "being, doing, touching, and seeing, rather than just seeing". Volunteers partake in daily activities and encounters with their host family, where knowledge is continually disturbed and reformed in these organic, real-world experiences.

Relying on such encounters and informal spaces to promote international understanding and solidarity, rather than having an explicit pedagogic strategy has been critiqued by some (Diprose,

2012). Indeed Butin (2003) warns that some examples of service learning, and by extension, international volunteering, can degenerate into a "voyeuristic exploitations of the 'cultural other' that masquerades as academically sanctioned 'servant leadership'" (Butin, 2003, 1675). Further, Valentine (2008) warns against celebrating everyday encounters and their potential to achieve cultural destabilisation and social transformation. Rather, her research revealed that physical proximity did not always equate with meaningful contact. Individuals in this instance showed kindness, tolerance and courteousness, but this did not equate to respect. Yet, opposing literature reveals that whilst it may not be prudent to rely on encounters and informal spaces of learning (Le Bourdon, 2018; Cloke and Perkins, 1998; Crouch and Desforges, 2003), they do have educative and transformative value, adding an extra layer of learning through natural encounters that have personal significance to the individual learner.

The next two sections of this chapter brings together the preceding discussions of development, global citizenship and international volunteering and builds on them by bringing in ideas of religion, faith and spirituality.

## 3.3: Religion, Faith and International Development

Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) comment that development studies are founded on the belief that religion is not important to development processes as it is assumes that as societies develop and modernise they engage in processes of secularisation, where the state and religion become increasingly separated. In 2000, Ver Beek, undertook a literature search for the years 1982 to 1998 of key development journals, finding few articles exploring the role of religion in development in comparison to other topics such as gender, population and the environment, which had many articles and in some cases, entire issues dedicated to that topic. For instance, in the Journal of Development Studies, there was 19 articles on the environment, 46 on gender, 38 on population, 0 on spiritual and spirituality and 1 on religion and religious (ibid). Many practioners also avoided considering the relationship between religion and development. The Unites States Agency for International Development (USAID), for example, stated in 1997 that "it is USAID policy not to finance activities with a significant religious/proselytising purpose or content. USAID will not finance the costs of an activity which involves the propagation of religious beliefs or opinions" (in Ver Beek, 2000, 38).

Here we see how western official donors have traditionally been ambivalent towards both the significance of faith, and activities of FBOs, in the development realm. Religion was felt by many, to be counter-developmental, and reason and faith were positioned as oppositional. With notable exceptions, many faith leaders emphasised the spiritual and moral dimensions of poverty, at the expense of the material, and they held a paternalistic view of poverty where the charitable obligations of their congregations were impressed, but the importance of social and political change was overlooked (Clarke and Jennings, 2008). Religion was also looked upon with scepticism, as many from outside the church believed religion should be confined to a person's private life, and be concerned with individual conduct, as opposed to being active in, and contributing to, public life.

Ver Beek (2000) presents a number of reasons why religion and spirituality were avoided by development theorists and practioners. These include, showing respect for the local culture and the fear of imposing one's own belief or perspective, as well as a general reluctance speaking about religion and spirituality and a lack of knowledge regarding how to address spirituality and religion in development models and practice. Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) present other reasons: a trust in the capability of governments to deliver wellbeing and prosperity, the perception that religion is irrelevant

to modern societies and restrains progress; and the confidence that economic policies could deliver economic stability and growth. Western scholars were also often uncomfortable with their non-western counterparts who commonly fused discourses such as theology and economics, that were traditionally thought of as antithetical, as well as producing insightful critiques of the development sphere (Lunn, 2009).

Yet, for Ver Beek (2000), such reasons seem almost condescending, where the local cultures need protecting from the views of the practioners and are unable to enter into discussions and reflect on each other's belief system. The westernised dichotomised view of the religious and the secular may not translate in other areas where faith influences even the most banal activities. Further, despite the practioners attempts to leave the religion/spirituality of the local cultures untouched, it does not mean they don't change anyway and could lead to individuals taking on values and ways of doing things that oppose their religious values. Additionally, the fear of imposing one's religious views is slightly ironic when this fear is mysteriously absent from practioners who share methods and best practice in development. Sharing one's view of what development looks like and how it should be done, is in a way, also a sharing of one's belief system, the way one understands the world and how it should be.

This lack of consideration to religion and spirituality in development theory and practice resulted in a failure to understand a key way people in 'developing countries' understand the world, make decisions and take social action, which in turn resulted in a reduced effectiveness of development research and activities (Marshall, 2001). Failure to consider this spirituality imposed a western view of what development should look like, disallowing individuals to shape and define their own development, and draw on the hope and strength of their faith. If development involves "strengthening people's capacity to determine their own values and priorities, and to organise themselves to act on these" (Eade and Williams, 1995), a failure to consider religion and spirituality reduces an individual's agency to consider how their spirituality will shape their life, and ultimately could be termed anti-developmental.

In 2003, Barro and McCleary commented that development practioners and scholars alike were beginning to question the effectiveness of the current development paradigm that principally focusses on technology and rationality as the main actors in development processes. Further, the secularisation assumption was beginning to be challenged by many as reflecting a western normative position and going against the evidence that religion was already playing a significant part in development (Ter Haar and Ellis, 2006; Casanova 2006, Tomalin, 2007). For example, estimations have shown that FBOs provide at least 40% of health care services in sub-Saharan Africa (Rookes, 2010, 65). Further, the longstanding work of Christian Aid, Hindu Aid, Islamic Relief and World Vision amongst others show the active work of faith in international development. Bompani (2017) for instance, shows how religion is growing in some parts of the world and, using research from sub-Saharan Africa, debunks the ideas that as sub-Saharan Africa develops religion will wither away. Further, Freeman (2017) shows the role Pentecostalism and the rise of the prosperity gospel has had in boosting economic success in Africa and Latin America. The continued presence of religious actors and narratives in international development, both in 'developed' and 'developing' countries, led to a re-evaluation of secularisation assumptions and since then, increased attention has been paid to the role religion can have in addressing various global challenges (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011).

Since the turn of the 21st century, religion, spirituality and faith have started to appear more prominently in development theory and practice. Certain events have been attributed to this rediscovery, notably 9/11 and the subsequent war on terror (Thomas, 2005), and the success of the UK based Jubilee 2000 Campaign, where religious organisations demonstrated they could be a

powerful force in debt cancellation for some of the world's poorest countries. Further, the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* project revealed the centrality of faith and religious organisations in the lives of the poor where their ideal of what it means to lead a good life has significant religious elements. Additionally, their confidence in religious leaders and organisations is higher compared to other non-religious leaders or organisations (Narayan et al, 2000). Subsequently, a recognition of the shortcomings of other development projects that focus exclusively on materialism and economic growth at the expense of spiritual, emotional and social elements have caused a reorientation of development's aims, to incorporate a more holistic concern for human wellbeing (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011). Such an approach has long been adopted by faith communities in their development programmes, and as such, they have received increased attention from the wider development sphere.

Another initiative fuelling this increased attention to the role of religion in development was a series of conferences organised by former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Carey and former World Bank president James Wolfensohn between 1998 and 2005. These conferences brought together faith leaders and development institution executives and contributed to the formation of the World Faith Development Dialogue (WFDD), to respond to the challenges and opportunities of partnership. Major themes for the WFDD included food and hunger, management of social services, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation and the role of culture in development (Marshall, 2001). These conferences initiated a turning point regarding faith and development, the manifestation of which can be seen in many ways. Firstly, in terms of instilling an increased involvement of faith groups in social justice and poverty alleviation, secondly, an acknowledgement of the existing activities of FBOs, thirdly, a recognition of the normative ideals and moral dimensions at the intersections of faith and development, and lastly, an appreciation of the significance of faith as an analytical lens through which people understand and contest their poverty. The Department for International Development (DFID) and USAID seemed more willing to work with, and channel funding through, various FBOs. In 2009, DFID published a white paper stating their funding to FBOs would double in recognition of the "unique contribution they can make in both delivering development on the ground, and connecting with communities here and abroad" (DFID, 2009, 134).

In the research sector, the ongoing work of the Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local communities seeks to bridge the gap between researchers and practioners engaging with religion and development; and "increase the quality and quantity of robust evidence on the role of local faith communities in community development and health" (Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local communities, n.d). Further, DFID joint funded a large research project at the University of Birmingham looking at the interactions between religion and global development. Religion and development research can no longer be considered lacking, leading to Bompani (2019) compiling a re-appraisal of religion and development research over the past 20 years. After reviewing 700 publications, she traces the emergence of the field of religion and development research, between 2000 and 2010, where concerns focussed on capturing and quantifying the impacts of religion in the development realm and understanding the relationship between the two. This was followed by the more critical engagement in development studies, between 2011 and 2018, where attention was turned to re-framing how development was conceptualised and rolled out and considering what contributions religious voices and actors could make to this.

For Bompani, 2011 marks a transition in religion and development research where attention was turned to "function over definition; individual agency and lived faith experience over classification and justifications of religion, and to individual agency and faith experience over institutional partnerships" (Bompani, 2019, 174). In this way, we can now see that religion has been discovered, or perhaps more

appropriately, rediscovered (Singh, 1999), in the development sphere. This rise of religion and development research needs to be situated within the broader era of post-development thinking, where calls were made for alternative viewpoints and belief systems that challenged monolithic interpretations of what constituted 'progress' and 'development' (Escobar, 2011). This 'post-development' era subsequently enabled different organizations to create their own perspectives of development and provide different ways to deliver this development (Sen, 1999).

Despite this increased engagement with religion and development, Tomalin (2017) argues that religious literacy is low and practioners and policy makers are poorly equipped to deal with religion when they encounter it. Further, Deneulin (2013) critiques policy makers for engaging with certain religions, for instance, engagement with those whose faith element is 'passive', rather than 'active' or seeking to gain converts, is common (Clarke, 2008). Deneulin and Bano (2009) comments that international development should instead deal with religious groups holistically, rather than picking and choosing elements that are instrumental to their own goals. Such an approach has been noted as damaging to those in 'developing countries', who were suddenly expected to speak and act like mainstream secular development organisations, without the influence of their religion (Bompani, 2019). Dealing with religious organisations holistically would then reflect the way religions are holistic, encompassing the whole lives of the believers from their physical health to the spiritual and emotional. Such an approach will require a 'complementary learning process' (Habermas, 2006b), reflecting the postsecularity partnerships proposed by Cloke et al (2019) where religious and non-religious (and different religious) voices join to meet a particular need. This, according to Cloke et al (2019) will require respect and openness to difference, translation of theologies, learning, change and transformation.

Engaging with religion, faith and spirituality in development can bring many benefits. For instance, in terms of organisational structures and capacity, faith communities are often the first to respond when a disaster strikes and are frequently best placed to, due to their physical local presence and their knowledge of the local society. In many places around the world, they are more trusted than state bodies and NGOs due to their values and local rootedness (Narayan et al, 2000). Further, religion and spirituality offer a source of strength, comfort and hope to many people, and religious groups have a holistic understanding of the person, taking into account their spiritual wellbeing as well as the physical, social and emotional. They are able to empower people and give them a sense of dignity, self-worth and contentedness, which for Tyndale (2006), reveals an attractive alternative model for development than that offered by state actors or secular NGOs. Values such as charitable and sacrificial giving, respect for other humans and living creatures, benevolence, support for those in need, the pursuit of justice and equity, care for the environment and a commitment for serving others, particularly those in need are commonly found in religious texts and messages (Lunn, 2009). Such a commitment can be displayed in both the time and resources mobilised by people of faith for those in need (Clarke, 2006). Religion and development share many goals and common interests i.e. poverty reduction and social justice, and both are focussed on ideals for the future, particularly a future that is better than the present. Theologians and development practioners alike have long been grappling with the hows and whys of these issues (Marshall, 2001), paving the way for potentially productive partnerships.

This is not to suggest that the contributions of faith communities have always been positive in the development sphere. For instance, some organisations have been criticised for showing ulterior motives when rolling out their development programmes, such as literacy programmes with the real purpose to enable people to read scriptures (Goody, 2003). Additionally, doubts have been cast that religious values are too idealistic to be applied to practical development (Tinbergen, 1989). During

the European colonial era, it was often considered the Christian duty to civilise and evangelise the 'backward' people of colonial countries, having detrimental impacts on superiority mindsets. Additionally, some view religion as being counter developmental, supporting the continuation of traditional and patriarchal social structures (Marshall, 2006). Religious teachings on certain issues have also been deemed anti-developmental, such as reproductive health rights and broader gender equality goals (Pearson and Tomalin, 2008).

Moreover, whilst faith communities often play a role in challenging stigma, they can also drive this stigma. This has been particularly noted in relation to HIV/AIDS epidemics where religious organisations have been at the forefront of challenging this stigma, yet also entrenching it, with instances of pastors refusing to bury those who have died from AIDS in their churchyards (Marshall, 2006). On some occasions, religious teachings and values have sparked conflict and violence, in turn causing poverty and displacement of vulnerable people (Clarke, 2006; Lunn, 2009). Further, Marshall (2006) alludes to the fact that some in the secular development world view religion as potentially divisive and political. Religious organisations are seen as bringing tensions between groups, where one group might become angry if support and resources were given to another. Finally, religious development work has both inclusive and exclusive varieties, where in some instances the activities of religious organisations care for everyone, yet for other organisations, this care has been limited to their own particular religious group.

## 3.4: Faith-Based International Volunteering

Like secular international volunteering, faith-based international volunteering has become an increasingly common activity for religious individuals in the UK (as well as other parts of the world). This increase needs to be located in the context of modern-day Christianity, where many religious messages encourage the acting out of faith (Saroglou, 2013). In this, discovering and expressing one's faith through practice, or praxis, as opposed to solely creed and ritual and an inward-looking relationship with God, is becoming progressively dominant (Cloke and Beaumont, 2012). This can be seen through increased levels of voluntarism and social participation among religious individuals (Park and Smith, 2000; Wilson and Janoski, 1995). Research from the USA has also revealed that young people who associate as very religious are more likely to participate in service work and volunteer (Smith and Denton, 2005).

Additionally, religious messages often evoke a sense of a global humanity that engages with difference and otherness, thereby fuelling the formation and expression of global citizenships and cosmopolitanisms (Levitt, 2008; Van der Veer, 2001). This appreciation of a 'global civil society', coupled with improved transport links and media coverage of life abroad, opens up environments in which volunteering internationally becomes an attractive way for young people to develop and perform these global citizenships and cosmopolitanisms (Baillie-Smith, 2016). Despite this, however, there has been relatively little research into faith-based international volunteering with notable exceptions of Baillie-Smith et al (2013) and Hopkins et al (2015). This is particularly surprising given the large number of individuals who have undertaken their volunteering with religious organisations. (Sherraden et al, 2008).

Hopkins et al (2010) explore how volunteering internationally, specifically in Latin America, forms a crucial way many young evangelical Christians develop an awareness of the self, and negotiate their transitions to religious adulthood. For many young Christians, international volunteer experiences

have become a space where religious maturation is expected and reported. Unlike Jones's (2011) research on volunteer motivations, these volunteers were mostly motivated by faith, rather than CV oriented incentives. The religious maturation, Hopkins et al (2015) found, was temporally diverse with the capacity for regression; and religious expressions and practices that had caused this maturation 'out there' in Latin America, were not easily translated 'back home'. Hopkins et al (2015) also explore the volunteer's reflections on age and maturity through their experiences and participation in different social roles. Such roles allowed the volunteers to render themselves as adult, yet acknowledgements of the power underpinning these roles was lacking. Such a lack of understanding raises concerns for Hopkins et al (2015), who liken such activities to colonial projects and observe paternalistic tendencies that go unnoticed by the volunteers or mission organisation.

Baillie-Smith et al (2013) begin to fill the knowledge gap concerning how faith-based international volunteering connects with issues of poverty and development, or discourses and practices of global citizenship. In this, they reveal the importance of faith in informing and shaping the global citizenships and perceptions on global issues of the volunteers and highlight the way multiple cosmopolitanisms and citizenships can be expressed simultaneously and over time. Faith communities here, whilst not conforming to commonly understood forms of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, provide an arena where there is a set of recognised beliefs and values, and in which citizens make connections across borders and perform their religious and development subjectivities. Yet, Baillie Smith et al (2013) find that such cosmopolitanisms were incoherent and often caused the volunteers to overlook inequality and injustice and fail to engage with the histories of the countries being visited. Baillie Smith et al (2013), conclude that their work,

> "reveals the need to disaggregate the multiple cosmopolitan and global citizenships that can be produced through international volunteering, particularly as it articulates with faith, if we are to offer a critical and nuanced account of how international volunteering might support a more socially just world order" (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013, 134).

My research therefore responds to this call by providing knowledge concerning religious subjectivities and their influences on global citizenship and development discourses and practices, building also on the work of Levitt (2008).

# 4. Research Methodology

## 4.0: Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the research process, including an overview of the methodological and analytical approaches, underlying rationalities, and the data outputs. Firstly, a description of my case study, a volunteer placement to the Mara region of Tanzania, is given. This is followed by an outline of my research methodology, which included semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations. I also delve deeper into my research sample, including how participants were recruited and how my data was analysed. Further, I enter into a discussion about my positionality as a young, white, middle class, Christian researcher, and show how this influenced the research process. Finally, I explore any ethical considerations from the research process and conclude with some methodological limitations.

## 4.1: Case Study Area: The United Republic of Tanzania

My three-month fieldwork placement was conducted in the Mara region of Tanzania (Figure 1). This region is situated in the north of Tanzania. Lake Victoria makes up its border to the north, with Kenya in the east, the Arusha and Simiyu regions to the south, and the Mwanza region in the west.

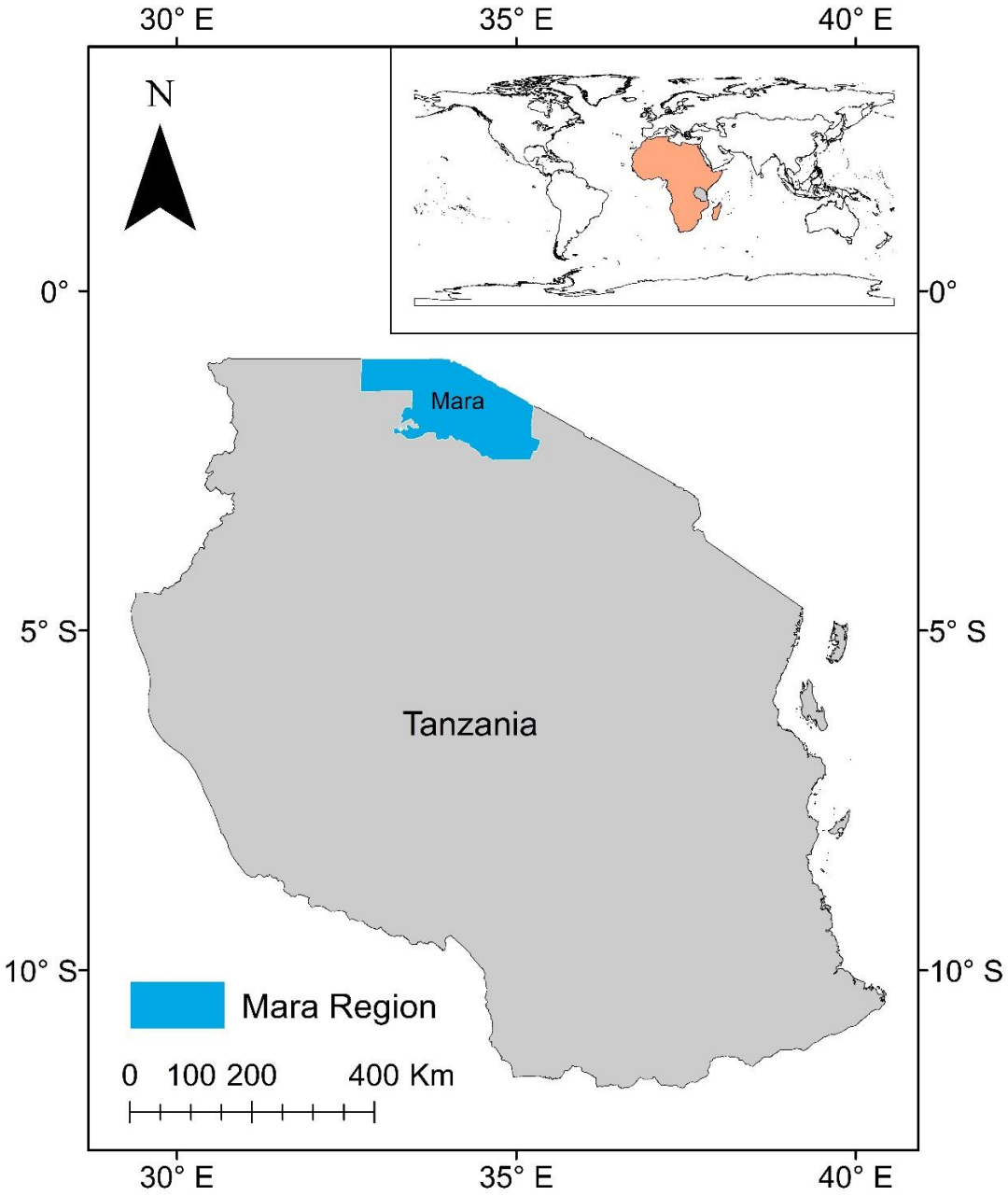


*Figure 1: The Mara Region of Tanzania*

The United Republic of Tanzania shares its borders with Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Indian Ocean. Tanzania is the 31st largest country in the world, with 947,300 square kilometres of land. The country is incredibly diverse, with more than 120 ethnic groups (World Population Review, 2018). The most widely spoken language is Swahili, yet English is becoming more common, and is increasingly the language secondary schools, and some primary schools, are opting to use for teaching. In total, there are over 100 languages, many being regional dialects, meaning that numerous Tanzanians are bilingual, if not trilingual.

The whole of Tanzania has an estimated population of 59,865,881, with the last official census recording the population at 44,928,923 (World Population Review, 2018). This population density is

uneven, with approximately 1 person per square kilometre in arid regions, and 53 people per square kilometre in water-rich mainland highlands. 80% of the population live in rural areas (ibid). The birth rates in Tanzania are one of the highest in the world, and a significant proportion of the population is under the age of 15 (44%) with a life expectancy of 62.6 years. Whilst Tanzania has one of the poorest per capita in the world, it has achieved high economic growth (6-7% a year in the last decade). This is due to vast natural resources, such as gold, and an influx of tourism, with Mount Kilimanjaro, the Serengeti National Park, Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Zanzibar Island proving popular tourist destinations (CIA World Factbook, 2018). Nationally, the economy is dependent on agriculture, mining and quarrying, electricity and natural gas, and tourism.

Employment rates are sporadic in the Mara region. Approximately 60% of the population are employed (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016), with unemployment rates fluctuating significantly due to the short-term nature of many employment contracts. Unemployment rates, according to the last census, were significantly lower than the national average, 3% and 10% respectively (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). 70% of these employed people are engaged in agriculture (ibid). As elsewhere in Tanzania, agriculture is by far the main economic activity, with 78% of households engaged in agricultural activities. 73% of these households reported selling their crops, with the remainder being involved in subsistence agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture, 2012). Maize, sorghum, cassava, tomatoes, coffee, bananas and watermelons are some of the most commonly grown crops; and cattle, goats and chickens are the most commonly kept livestock. Fish farming is also common in the areas of Mara close to Lake Victoria. According to the 2012 census, 2.1% of households were engaged in this activity, although fishing without a licence, and therefore unlikely to show in census data, is common. Other employment includes teachers/education (5.2%), technicians (4.1%), shop and stall workers (3.2%), craft workers (2.8%) and professionals (1.2%), amongst others (ibid).

Tanzania's Human Development Index is 0.531, which falls within the low human development category, positioned at 151 from 188 countries (UNDP, 2018). As of 2018, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated the gross domestic product to be $56.7%. Tanzania's poverty rate has declined since 2007, yet the second National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty reveals that this decline could have been stronger (IMF, 2011). This is attributed to climate change, unsustainable harvesting of natural resources, increasing drought conditions affecting crop production, livestock and power generation, and to global economic patterns, affecting exports, investments and tourism. One third of the population lives below the basic needs poverty line (Tanzania Social Action Fund, 2018), and many of these families are in rural areas. Other issues include malnutrition and the prevalence of Malaria and HIV, which are the primary causes of death for children and adults respectively. The HIV rate is 4.5%, the 13$^{th}$ highest in the world (World Population Review, 2018). Healthcare is a major issue in Tanzania, with only 0.02 physicians per 1000 residents, and clean drinking water only accessible to 55% of the population. Further, improved sanitation is only accessible to 15% of the population (ibid). Due to measures taken by President Magafuli, who made primary school education free and compulsory, education and literacy levels are estimated at 78%, higher than many of its neighbouring countries (UNESCO, 2012).

### 4.1.1: Tanzania: A History

The United Republic of Tanzania consists of mainland Tanzania, formerly known as Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, which consists of two islands, Unguja and Pemba. The history of Tanzania has been shaped by the activities of colonisers and external traders (Government of Tanzania, 2015). Initially in the 8$^{th}$ century, Arabs occupied areas along Tanzania's coast; followed several centuries later by the

Portuguese, who settled in Zanzibar where they traded in ivory, cloves, rubber and slaves (Temu, 1980). More recently, European influence grew as Tanganyika was declared a German colony in 1884 (Government of Tanzania, 2015). Following World War 1, in 1919, Tanganyika was claimed as a British colony. It remained a British colony until 1961 when Julius Nyerere, and his party the Tanganyika African National Union, united the country and won the fight for independence (Shillington, 2012). In 1964, Tanganyika merged with Zanzibar, which had gained its own independence from Britain in 1963 after overthrowing the Arab dynasty, to form Tanzania.

Much could be written about the impact of these colonial powers in Tanzania, and about the continued presence and impact of neo-colonial powers. As such, I will detail one particular element of Tanzania's recent colonial history relevant to this thesis, the presence of Christian missionaries. When German occupation began, there were five missionary societies served by 150 missionaries, however, when it ended, there were 14 missionary societies and 709 missionaries (Koponen, 1996). Missionary presence grew rapidly in the late 18$^{th}$ and early 19$^{th}$ century, due mainly to the evangelical Christian revival in Europe and North America. This evangelical movement contained a strong missionary purpose, and attention was turned to Africa. Missionaries provided health clinics and elementary education, establishing churches, with the motivation of conveying the message of Jesus Christ, and seeking converts to Christianity (Shillington, 1989).

This increased missionary presence had multiple intentional and unintentional effects on the country. Missionaries frequently used Arab trade routes on their journeys, thereby encouraging the development of new trade routes, whether for legitimate forms of commerce, or for the trading of slaves (Austen, 1968). Some missions were also driven by commercial interests, such as the trade in ivory, or for political interests, i.e. seeking allies (Shillington, 2012). Missionaries became known for their 'moral superiority', and for many, biblical mandates to teach the word of God were accompanied by a belief that true Christian conversions equalled a total transformation of a culture to one more reminiscent of Europe (ibid). For instance, dancing and non-religious singing was commonly opposed, despite such activities not being addressed in the Bible (Beidelman, 1974). Despite few missionaries being direct agents of European imperialism, in many ways, they were seen to be 'colonisers of the consciousness' in their conversion attempts (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2008), and inadvertently exploitative, as their presence shaped the future for European colonisation.

However, many missionaries became champions of the poor and oppressed, were deeply invested in their needs, and were convinced of the importance of using local resources in development (Shillington, 1989). These missionaries spoke out about the need to understand local cultures, and work within these, using local resources, to aid development (Koponen, 1996). A sense of spiritual salvation was provided for those who had lost faith in traditional African beliefs, and literacy levels rose as converts engaged in Bible readings. Further, inspired by the anti-slavery appeals of David Livingstone, many missionaries from Tanzania and other African nations, appealed for British government intervention in the abolition of the slave trade. Many African church leaders saw the Biblical teachings of justice and equality of humankind and heralded the promise of Jesus' second coming as an end to the oppressive colonial regimes. In this way, the early independent church movement could be seen as an initial expression of African nationalist sentiments against European colonialism. In recent years, traditional criticisms of missionaries have been challenged, as research has revealed examples of missionaries, particularly those who were non-state funded, being very critical of colonialism. Woodberry (2012) has also revealed how protestant missionaries were significantly associated with higher levels of printing, education, economic development, organizational civil society, protection of private property, rule of law with lower levels of corruption, and the rise of democracy.

### 4.1.2: Contemporary Tanzania

Tanzania now is a one-party state, with the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) holding office since 1995. CCM formed in 1977 following a merging of the Tanganyika African National Union, which won Tanganyika its independence, with the Afro-Shirazi Party. The president, John Magufuli, was elected in 2015. In terms of tackling one of Tanzania's greatest challenges, the government has developed several programmes to reduce poverty and increase sustainable development. Their current development agenda, 'Development Vision 2025', focusses on empowering people and boosting economic growth by creating better environments for business, improving education, increasing access to funding and making infrastructural improvements (ibid).

There are many non-governmental organisations working in different areas alongside, or in addition to, the government, in order to reduce the number of people living below the basic needs line, and to promote sustainable development. Tanzania has also received significant investment from The World Bank, the IMF and bilateral donors, to rehabilitate Tanzania's infrastructure, particularly rail and port, and to provide important trading links. The presence of outside funding and NGOs reveals inadequacies in the government programmes. It is clearly felt by those within, and outside of, Tanzania that additional social support, development and investment is needed to alleviate the widespread poverty. Some of these NGOs were created in Tanzania, whereas some originate internationally. International volunteers will typically work alongside either of these types of organisation, but the current trend is to favour the former, as it allows local leadership and expertise to dictate their volunteer activities, thereby enhancing their effectiveness.

In terms of religion, Christianity is the majority faith, with 61.4% of the population self-identifying as Christians. Islam follows at 35.2% (although almost the entire population of Zanzibar is Muslim), then folk religion 1.8%, other 0.2% and unaffiliated 1.4% (CIA World Factbook, 2018). In reality, the boundaries between religions are fluid, as some of the population associate as either Muslim or Christian, yet still practise and/or believe in the traditional spiritual belief system (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002). Considerable Christian missionary presence remains, and a simple google search will reveal a multitude of Christian organisations who send both longer-term missionaries, and short-term missionaries/volunteers, to Tanzania. These organisations undertake a broad spectrum of activities, from teaching and construction (common development activities), to running Bible studies and evangelistic activities (common mission activities). This thereby reveals the more contemporary, yet not ubiquitous, blurring of mission with social justice and international development (Baillie Smith et al, 2013).

## 4.2: Research Strategy

This research aims to understand the role of faith within an international volunteer placement, the effects the placements have on the volunteers themselves, such as on their own faith and global citizenship, and the impacts the volunteer placements have on the local community. The research questions were:

- What motivates participation in Christian international volunteering programmes?
- How do Christian international volunteer programmes influence understandings and conceptualisations of poverty, inequality and injustice?
- In what ways do Christian international volunteer programmes influence a commitment to address poverty, inequality and injustice?

To explore these research questions, a qualitative approach was deemed most appropriate as this allowed for deeper and more genuine expressions of the participants' values, beliefs and behaviours. A qualitative stance enabled the exploration of how personal understandings and interpretations of an individual's faith shaped their volunteer experience, their understandings of poverty, justice and inequality, and the subsequent actions and value systems adopted in response to these issues.

### 4.2.1: Why Christianity?

In this section, I detail the rationale for choosing to research Christian international volunteering in particular, as opposed to an international volunteering programme associated with a different religion. Here a mixture of theoretical and practical reasons influenced this decision. From a theoretical perspective, geographical research on Christianity is valuable due to the changing patterns of individuals conforming to this religion. In the UK, and wider European continent, Christian affiliation is declining, as opposed to other areas around the world, such as sub-Saharan Africa, where steady or increasingly levels of Christian affiliation are recorded. Understanding the interactions between volunteers from Europe and host communities in sub-Saharan Africa is therefore valuable to map how interactions, relationships and development projects may change with these shifting patterns of Christian adherence. Further, the deep and often-debated history of Christian missionary presence in Africa provided an interesting body of research to draw upon and contribute to, by examining the continued presence and influence Christian individuals and organisations have in Africa. The sheer number of Christian international volunteer programmes alone warrants deeper exploration to assess the impact and effectiveness of these programmes; and whilst the emerging body of literature exploring the programmes is significant (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013; Hopkins et al, 2015), it remains small. Therefore, further contributions to this body of work are important in scrutinising these practices in more depth.

When I began this research, I initially hoped to study volunteering programmes from various religious traditions. However, it became apparent as the research progressed that I would not be able to gain the depth I desired if I worked with multiple faith groups. As such, it seemed more feasible to focus on one religion to obtain this depth. Practically, being a Christian myself meant I had greater access to data. For instance, my personal history as an international volunteer meant I had already established a network of FBOs and individuals involved in Christian international volunteering. This enabled research partnerships to be established quickly. Many volunteer programmes require participants to be a practicing Christian to take part in their programmes; as such, my faith enabled a closeness with the field that may not have been possible otherwise. Further, I was also able to gain a greater level of trust with participants as I could attend and participate in Christian activities. In line with this, because religious activities such as prayer were a regular occurrence, I was able to partake in these activities with integrity and ease, due to my own personal faith. If I had been researching a religious community different to my own, I may have felt conflicted and uncomfortable when religious activities took place.

Whilst I believe my choice to investigate Christianity specifically is valid and valuable, I acknowledge that research on the role of religion in international volunteering frequently focusses on traditional 'book religions' such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam, at the expense of smaller or more alternative religious traditions. As such, future research may wish to consider investigating the volunteering programmes organised by alternative religious groups to build on the small yet growing body of research examining faith-based international volunteering projects.

## 4.3 Postcolonial theory

From the early to mid-1990s, development geographers have seen the importance of linking the discipline with postcolonialism (Dixon and Heffernan, 1991; Corbridge, 1994; Crush, 1994; 1995). In recent years, other subdisciplines have similarly begun engaging in postcolonial concepts, debates and approaches to research (see Radcliffe 2005 for a fuller overview). Here geographers have thought more about the power relations, both material and discursive, through which 'Third World difference' has been perpetuated in a world increasingly typified by global inequality (Said, 1979; Robinson, 2003). The dominance of western institutions has been critiqued (McEwan, 2002) and the issue of decolonizing geography has become an increasingly important agenda, with the 2017 RGS-IBG annual conference chair's theme being named as 'decolonising geographical knowledges, or reproducing coloniality?'. In this, decolonising geography's agenda, concepts, terms of references and areas of study are reorienting to include a multipolar world and cultural diversity (see Crush, 1993 and Sidaway, 2002 for fuller discussions). Because of these debates and discussions, geographers are now beginning to think more deeply about how we engage practically and theoretically in a more nuanced and critical way in development research.

As I started this research, I began engaging more deeply in postcolonial discussions, reading particularly Edward Said's (1979) work on 'othering' and Orientalism, Gayatri Spivak (2003) and her questioning of whether the subaltern can speak and Homi Bhabha's (1994) concepts of mimicry. The recent work of activists 'Radi-Aid' and 'No White Saviors' were also central in influencing my understanding of colonialism, postcolonialism and the involvement of 'western' countries in countries overseas and provided both personal and academic challenges to scrutinise my own bias, think more critically about representations of other nations, dissect the ways communities in the UK have benefited from oppressive colonial regimes and consider the realities of privilege and power. The activities of some missionary and voluntary gap year organisations also come under scrutiny here for being paternalistic, culturally inappropriate, oppressive and a form of neo-colonialism. As such I began thinking more intensely about the tensions between religion/mission and postcolonialism, engaging with books such as the Poisonwood Bible (Kingsolver, 2008), where the activities of missionary families are strongly critiqued.

In planning my research, I aimed to keep these postcolonial debates and approaches for research central in my thinking and I began asking questions about the appropriateness of my research, how I could ensure I was not just going into these local communities to do my own research for my own personal gain. Scheyven's (2014) 'Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide' and Desai and Potter's (2006) 'Doing Development Research', were drawn upon for guidance and instruction in planning my research and fieldwork. Here I saw examples of previous researchers giving voice to indigenous communities and developing their research projects alongside these communities and ensuring they also gained from the research activities. As such, I was hoping to use participatory action research approaches to inform my research design. However, it became practically difficult to implement this fully, due to the time requirements taking part in this research could have placed on Sollus and the local communities. However, I tried to ensure all my research participants felt they were co-contributors in creating knowledge and knew their opinions and voices would be fairly represented in the research. My interview questions where open and more discussion based, where I often started with open questions like 'what are your experiences of international volunteers?'. I tried to be as open as possible, asking Sollus what they thought I should be investigating and how the research could be helpful to them and their organisation. In this way, postcolonialism influenced the research methodology and filtered through to influencing the research analysis where I picked up on themes of power, privilege, oppression, inequality, saviourism, whiteness and thinking about how the legacies of colonialism live on in, and shape, the practice of Christian international volunteering.

## 4.4: Research Methods

### 4.4.1: In the field

Most of the research was conducted during a three-month fieldwork placement in the Mara region of Tanzania, where I volunteered for Amare, a Christian international development and relief organisation and collected my research (Amare is a pseudonym). Amare is an evangelical Christian organisation where their faith informs and shapes the development work they do. They work principally through the local church to empower and enable communities to break free from poverty and bring their own development solutions. In this sense, they aim to be grassroots, working through partners who are already engrained in the local communities and have the knowledge and skills to run the most effective and suitable development interventions. Whilst they work primarily through Christian partners (with some exceptions), their beneficiaries are those most in need, regardless of their religious affiliation or lack of. Due to their evangelical theology, their likely recruit for volunteers commonly adhere to this religious outlook.

Amare was approached due to both practical reasons and my situated knowledge. Initially when I planned my research project, I had hoped to focus on organisations that address both social justice and environmental injustice. As such, organisations who focus on both these issues were approached and Amare fell within this criterion. Due to unforeseen circumstances, I was unable to undertake a subsequent fieldwork placement with another organisation that tackle environmental issues and as such, the project evolved to thinking more about engagements with poverty, inequality and injustice in line with the data that had already been collected. Further, as a practicing, broadly evangelical, Christian, I had heard of Amare before and were aware of their work when it was spoken about in church services. Although this personal background did not explicitly influence my decision to approach Amare, as opposed to other Christian organisations, such as those of a Catholic or Presbyterian theology, this situated knowledge was likely to implicitly influence this decision. My request to volunteer and undertake research was met positively, and it was agreed that I would partake fully in the volunteer programme, from pre-departure interviews and training, to a debrief session at the end. This thereby enriched my volunteer experience and allowed a thorough and rich ethnographic dairy to be completed. However, it also made for a busy fieldwork placement, and interviews were mostly conducted during the evenings or weekends, or when spare moments could be found. One instance included a car break down, where I undertook an interview at the roadside whilst awaiting assistance.

During this fieldwork placement, semi-structured interviews and overt participant observation were the principle methods of research. These methods are frequently combined in qualitative research, and allow for participants' interview responses to be validated against their actions (Laws et al, 2013), enable a greater level of trust and reciprocity to be established between the researcher and the research participants (Jorgensen, 2015), and capture incidental encounters and experiences that may not have been discussed in interviews (Pinsky, 2015). During my research, for instance, volunteers undertook frequent Bible studies and spent time praying, the content of which proved invaluable when thinking about how faith shapes the volunteer experience. Further, it helped me to understand the culture of Tanzania and volunteer experience to a greater depth, thereby increasing my confidence in data interpretation.

A longitudinal study was conducted with volunteers, where semi-structured interviews were conducted prior to placement, three times during placement, and once on arrival home (N=5

participants, 25 total interviews). Through these interviews, it was the hope that rich, personalised data would be gained, revealing central meanings through discussion (Chase, 2011, Riessman, 2008). Initially, I had planned to ask volunteers to fill in a diary recording their personal journeys, as these would allow an unguided disclosure of their perspectives and opinions. However, once on the placement, the volunteers expressed that they felt these diaries would be particularly time consuming and would prefer discussion style interviews, and, as such, interviews were carried out.

During these initial interviews, discussions included motivations to volunteer and activities, such as fundraising, leading up to the placement. Further, I explored their expectations for the placement, and their understandings of poverty, justice and inequality, and in what ways their faith informed these. As the volunteer placement progressed, the interviews mapped the volunteers' experience of their time in Tanzania, how their faith shaped the experience, and in turn, how their faith was being affected. Additionally, the interviews explored how understandings of poverty, justice, inequality and international development were being fashioned by this experience. The final interview focussed on the volunteers' behaviours and value systems since returning from their placements. In interviewing participants before, during and after the placement, I was able to gain "a storied description about a person's movement through a life episode" (Polkinghorne, 1995, 11). In this, I was able to understand how an individual's narrative might develop and evolve through the volunteer placement, as well as beyond the placement. For some, the significance and contribution of the volunteer placement may not have been recognised until returning home from the volunteer experience. As such, this before, during and after approach was deemed appropriate in painting a fuller picture of volunteer placements and their influence on the lives of the volunteers and the host communities.

Once I had arrived in the field, I was made aware of another Christian international development organisation in the area, with volunteers currently visiting. As such, I conducted a singular interview with some of these volunteers exploring similar themes to the longitudinal interviews (N=4). Additionally, to ensure an understanding of volunteer projects was gained from multiple perspectives, interviews were carried out with local missionaries (N=4), and members of the host organisation which received the volunteers (N=8, hereafter I use the Pseudonym 'Sollus' to refer to the host organisation). Previous research on international volunteering has commonly focussed on the motivations and experiences of the volunteers themselves. However, with notable exceptions (Tiessen, 2018), little research has analysed the expectations and perspectives of host organisations and local people. As such, gaining the perspectives of Sollus was crucial in understanding local reactions to volunteers. Whilst I was unable to gain formal interviews with local people who were not staff members at Sollus, attempts were made to understand these and were recorded in my ethnographic diaries. Such individuals include school teachers, church leaders and church members and individuals from community self-help groups.

Themes covered during interviews or conversations with Sollus, local people and missionaries included their understanding of poverty, international development and injustice, their rationale for hosting volunteers, their experience of hosting volunteers, and their perspective on the impact of the volunteer placement, both on themselves individually, their organisation, the local area, and the volunteer. All interviews with Sollus were conducted in English, and in case difficulties with language occurred, a translator was present at some interviews.

Through interviewing missionaries, staff members at Sollus and other local people I was able to gain a better picture of local reactions to volunteers. However, these local reactions could perhaps be tainted by the financial transactions between Sollus and Amare. Amare, amongst other organisations from within Tanzania and across the world, provide monetary support for Sollus and their projects. Although I was able to speak with teachers and church leaders, these were all in some way associated

with Sollus and thereby Amare. Local people have also experienced past volunteers financially supporting their communities. For instance, the local school teachers showed us a new dormitory that previous volunteers have raised funds for or church leaders showed us the iron roof sheets or musical equipment that previous volunteers had provided. The organisational association was difficult to shake and local perspectives should therefore be read with this in mind. Additionally, gaining local perspectives on volunteers were equally challenging due to time constraints and safety agreements made with Amare. As I was engaged as a volunteer, I was expected to fully partake in the volunteer programme which meant a limited time frame to engage with individuals outside of Sollus. Further, Amare require volunteers to stay within the group of volunteers as a safety precaution which limited my freedom to conduct research. Permission was given for a few trips with my translator to visit local communities or to visit the Sollus head office at evenings and weekends, but due to the time constraints of fieldwork, I wasn't able to do this as much as I would have liked. Overall, this research does reveal new and interesting insights into local reactions to volunteer programmes, however certain limitations and constraints due to my position as a volunteer with Amare exist and future research may wish to consider working outside of these organisational constraints to strengthen our knowledge on local responses to volunteers.

Similarly, using missionaries to understand local perspectives also presents challenges. These individuals who permanently reside in the local communities and often have close friendships with local people will have witnessed first-hand multiple short-term volunteering placements and seen the impact they have. As such their responses are insightful and informative and add depth to our understanding of volunteer programmes. Yet, their lives, upbringing, worldviews, values and culture differ from the local communities and as such, there are limitations in using such perspectives in understanding local reaction to volunteers. This however, does not mean their perspectives should be written off, but rather seen as one piece of a much wider puzzle in understanding how volunteers are received by host communities.

The ethnographic diary detailed my personal journey as a volunteer, attempting not only to understand the 'other' more fully, but to also gain a fuller understanding of myself (Gobo, 2008). In this sense, it became autoethnography (Anderson, 2006; Butz and Besio, 2009), where my own experience was used to understand this cultural phenomena, particularly how faith is involved in shaping the volunteer experience, and how the volunteer experience affects an individual's faith. For instance, as the fieldwork progressed my diary became increasingly filled with prayers. Initially, these prayers were considered 'messiness' (Cook, 1998); but then I came to see how these prayers were a form of activism, and I elaborate on the importance of prayer in relation to emerging work on quiet politics in Chapter 8. Such autoethnographies often risk being highly descriptive, yet lacking in analytical fervour (Moss 2011; Anderson 2006), and as such, this method was supplemented with the aforementioned interviews.

The diary also included accounts of the volunteer experience, as well as conversations with, and reflections of, volunteers and local people. Volunteer activities included teaching geography, organising sport sessions, building construction, translating policy documents, and some farming activities such as weeding, shelling beans, and plant potting in a tree nursery. Additionally, there were many religiously oriented activities, such as preaching in local churches, leading Bible studies with women and children, and visiting houses to pray with other Christians or for evangelism. It was during these activities, particularly the manual labour tasks that rich ethnographic data was gained, as reflective discussions concerning the volunteer placement would ensue. For instance, when weeding the greenhouse, we discussed the impact of the placement on the local community, when shelling beans, we discussed the highlights of the volunteer placement, and when undertaking long journeys

to remote rural villages, we reflected on what we had learnt about life in Tanzania, and about global issues such as poverty, injustice and international development. Through this method, I was able to immerse myself in the volunteering experience, living, eating and spending free time with other volunteers, members of Sollus and local people in Tanzania. To ensure trust and transparency, Sollus and the volunteers were aware I was making recorded observations.

Autoethnography enabled a more holistic picture of the placement to be gained. Due to my continued presence, I was able to note incidental encounters that were not elaborated on in interviews. Further, in some instances interviews with local people were deemed inappropriate. Sollus explained that many local people, particularly those in remote rural locations, might have found a formal interview, using a dictaphone, uncomfortable and unfamiliar. As such, conversations with these people were recorded in my ethnographic diary. The diary thereby enabled opinions and perspectives to be gained that would not have been otherwise possible. A translator accompanied me during these conversations.

### 4.4.2: In the UK

Outside of the three-month fieldwork placement, interviews with volunteer recruitment organisations (N=9), and with past volunteers (N=14), were carried out in the UK. These were conducted either in person or over the phone/using skype. Interviews with volunteer recruitment organisations sought to understand their views on the value of international volunteering, their support and education of volunteers, their understanding of poverty, international development and injustice, and their aims and strategy for volunteer placements. Interviews with previous volunteers explored similar themes to the longitudinal interviews with the Amare volunteers, such as motivations to volunteer, details of the volunteer experience, and how their daily life had been affected by the volunteer programmes. These past volunteers had volunteered in different African countries with various FBOs, for between one and six months.

### 4.3.3: Research Sample

In order to frame the discussions in this thesis, it should be noted that the volunteers broadly associated as practising evangelical Christians, yet distinct differences in denomination, theology and religious practices existed. Indeed, throughout interviews it became apparent that the volunteers and FBOs were less concerned with denominational affiliation, preferring to self-identify as a Christian rather than an Anglican, Baptist, Methodist etc. This trend has been recognised by Chambers and Thompson (2005) who depict the increasing fragmentation in the Christian community were inter-denomination relations are increasingly commonplace. In many ways, the participants mostly aligned with the 'typical' international volunteer - who are predominantly white, female and middle-class (Heron, 2007). However, there were a few male volunteers and some non-middle-class volunteers, who where they were able to volunteer due to grants and funding from various sources. The volunteers who took part in the longitudinal study were all on 'gap years', taking breaks between their education and employment. Past volunteers had generally volunteered in the five years prior to the research, with one volunteer returning eight years before the research. About a quarter of the volunteers from the sample had volunteered internationally on multiple occasions. Owing to these characteristics of my sample i.e white, female, middle class, practicing evangelical Christians, the following discussions should be read with this in mind and any conclusions can not claim to be representative of all Christian international volunteering programmes where their approaches, likely recruits and experiences could be very different. Further, it should be noted that findings do not relate

solely to the volunteers' theology, rather their experiences have many factors shaping and moulding these experiences. For instance, their age, gender, class and specifically evangelical theological understanding of Christianity will all influence their time volunteering.

The participants volunteered with various FBOs including; Mission Direct, Tearfund, Serving in Mission, African Inland Mission, GoMad Tanzania, CAFOD, Smile International, A Rocha, Matugga Uganda, USPG, Tanzanear and Christians Abroad. The organisations are not associated with the individual volunteers in this thesis, to ensure the anonymity of the volunteer. However, the numbers associated with each organisation vary, with one organisation associated with 7 of the respondents and others associated with 1 respondent. As such, this data cannot claim to be representative or generalizable of all Christian international volunteering programmes (indeed that would also need a greater number of participants). Yet, the stories offered by participants may resonate with wider themes and discourses beyond the particular case studies discussed and reveal a glimpse of issues and themes related to the practice of Christian international volunteering.

Table 1 includes a more detailed breakdown of the research participants, displaying their demographics, the location of the interview and the type of interview (i.e. FBO or volunteer). When individuals have volunteered on more than one occasion, their ages for both their volunteer placements are listed in the table. In total, the number of interviews was 57 (participants= 43), ranging in length from 25 minutes to 1 hour 45 minutes, the majority lasting 45 minutes. The ethnographic diaries included 250 pages of notes.

*Table 1: Table of research participants*

| **Pseudonym** | **Date** | **Location** | **Type** | **Gender** | **Age (when volunteered)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harriet | 10/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 18 and 22 |
| Helen | 30/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 18 and 21 |
| Katie | 16/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 21 |
| David | 24/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | M | 19 |
| Becky | 06/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 20 |
| Laura | 29/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 19 and 21 |
| Dan | 02/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | M | 19 |
| Karen | 17/11/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 20 |
| Will | 08/12/17 | UK | Former volunteer | M | 19 |
| Danielle | 18/12/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 19 |
| Kathryn | 02/01/18 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 19 |
| Nick | 26/04/18 | UK | Former volunteer | M | 19 |
| Nicola | 05/01/18 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 19 |
| Annie | 27/12/17 | UK | Former volunteer | F | 19 and 21 |
| Chloe | Various | UK/Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 18 |
| Lydia | Various | UK/Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 18 |
| Naomi | Various | UK/Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 22 |
| Victoria | Various | UK/Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 19 |
| Ffion | Various | UK/Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 19 |
| Sophie | 20/03/18 | Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 19 |
| Ed | 23/03/18 | Tanzania | Volunteer | M | 19 |
| Chris | 23/03/18 | Tanzania | Volunteer | M | 20 and 24 |
| Phoebe | 23/03/18 | Tanzania | Volunteer | F | 19 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Georgia | 04/12/17 | UK | FBO | F | |
| Fiona | 23/04/18 | UK | FBO | F | |
| Stephen | 11/12/17 | UK | FBO | M | |
| Mark | 05/04/18 | UK | FBO | M | |
| Albert & Corrie | 31/07/18 | UK | FBO | F & M | |
| Harry | 18/06/18 | UK | FBO | M | |
| Thomas | 14/08/18 | UK | FBO | M | |
| Emma | 20/02/18 | Tanzania | FBO | F | |
| Alex & Sophia | 20/03/18 | Tanzania | Missionary | F & M | |
| James | 17/03/18 | Tanzania | Missionary | M | |
| Rosa | 25/02/18 | Tanzania | Missionary | F | |
| Hannah | 28/03/18 | Tanzania | Missionary | F | |
| Paul | 20/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Chica | 12/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Joseph | 13/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| George | 15/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Nathaniel | 15/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Silas | 23/02/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Mposi | 23/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | M | |
| Angel | 26/03/18 | Tanzania | FBO | F | |

### 4.4.4: Recruitment of Participants

I echo the notion of Willis (1981) who states; “My field method could be summed up as meeting people” (Willis, 1981: 20). Whilst in the UK, I met all the volunteers participating in the three-month trip at pre-departure interviews and training and spoke about my research. They were also informed by Amare that I would be undertaking this research, and that there was no obligation to take part. However, all consented, most likely due to the friendships started and the support of Amare. Past volunteers were recruited mainly through a snowballing process. I was put in touch with some past volunteers by various FBOs, and these volunteers then suggested others. A few were also known to me personally. As I am a practising Christian, and international volunteering is a common practice among young Christians, I was able to secure interviews with friends, who put me in touch with their friends. More participants were contacted following a web search of Christian organisations offering short term volunteering opportunities in countries in Africa. Some were also met in person at Christian conferences.

In Tanzania, local missionaries were mostly met through social activities; some through a missionary café, often frequented by missionary families, or at local sporting events. The missionary community ran football and Ultimate Frisbee sessions, so I attended these, and made vital contacts. Fortunately, I am a regular Ultimate Frisbee player in the UK, and the fact that I was able to join their sessions immediately developed friendships and rapport. Owing to the time pressure of a three-month deadline for fieldwork, these quick friendships proved invaluable in gaining data. Some participants were also met through attending church services. Working so closely with Sollus meant I was able to approach people who I wished to interview in person, or the volunteer programme co-ordinator arranged meetings for me.

## 4.5: Treatment of Data

Interviews were recorded after verbal and written consent had been provided. Subsequent transcription was undertaken either by Express Transcribe or by myself. Owing to the large number of interviews, an initial set of 15 interviews was submitted to Express Transcribe. However, I found that the transcription process was helpful for my own familiarisation and analysis of data. Further, for interviews with Sollus, there were issues with understanding accents and nuances in their pronunciation of some English words. During volunteer interviews, there were often mentions made of events or people without a full description, as the interviewees were aware I would understand, and as these nuances would not show up in professionally transcribed interviews, I opted to transcribe the remaining interviews myself.

Data analysis took place over the length of the PhD project. Initially I read the interview transcripts and diary entries and roughly coded these by hand to gain a general sense of key themes and findings. After this, I regularly revisited my ethnographic diaries and interview transcripts, allowing identification of patterns and connections, and using the data management software 'NVivo' to formally code and categorise my data. This enabled identification of recurrent themes, key findings and similarities and divergences within the data; resulting in the emergence of a coding framework of 11 main codes and 18 sub-codes. Codes included: impact on volunteers, impact on local community, volunteer experience, challenges, positives, why volunteers, faith and poverty, faith and justice, faith, globalisation, mission and international development. Due to time constraints, my ethnographic diaries were not transcribed and coded using NVivo; however, they were similarly coded by hand, using the same coding framework. Due to the amount of interview data generated from this research, NVivo was vital in structuring data and aiding my analysis (Zamawe, 2015). Further, it ensured that I was not 'cherry-picking' data that was consonant with my preconceived notions of the topic, or what I desired to write about. Without the use of NVivo for data management, I could have left large parts of the dataset unaccounted for in my analysis and writing. For instance, the significance of group prayer was not fully realised until detailed analysis had been undertaken following the coding process in NVivo.

'Queries', in NVivo, searched the data for repeated words and phrases, both from the whole data set, and amongst specific groups. Further, certain groups were compared with other groups. This helped in creating new understandings and theories. For instance, I compared the code 'challenges' between volunteers and Sollus, revealing that the volunteers themselves speak much more about the challenges of volunteering than Sollus. Utilising the word frequency tool also revealed the importance volunteers, host organisations and sending organisations place on volunteers 'seeing' and 'experiencing' life in Tanzania, but for different reasons. NVivo also helped show surprising elements of the research. For instance, I had not been aware of the extent to which international volunteering causes many volunteers to express discontent with their home culture whilst in placement, particularly regarding consumerism and social or community poverty; or how quickly this discontent fades on returning home. Both these instances revealed surprising finds, one's that went against what I may have initially expected. As such, NVivo was helpful in ensuring scrutiny and rigour throughout the research analysis and ensuring I did not see what I wanted to see, or validating what I thought would be revealed in the data (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Welsh, 2002). Whilst researcher bias is difficult to bypass completely, particularly when only one researcher is involved in the research process, NVivo reduced this to some extent (Kelle, 1997).

Text search tools were also used once a theme had emerged, which provided an effective way to check other transcripts for similar themes. For instance, the words 'prayer' and 'blessing' and their derivatives were searched for, using this text search tool. Here I was able to gain a general impression of how and why participants used these phrases, to understand their significance for subsequent data

analysis (Welsh, 2002). Lastly, I was also able to use tools that displayed the data in graphs or 'wordle clouds'. Whilst these were not used to analyse data, they were a creative way to spot emerging themes and were useful in presenting data at conferences and in a feedback session that I organised with key stakeholders. Some have argued that using 'query' tools such as text searches and word frequencies cause an author to become distanced from the context of their data (Walsh, 2003; McLafferty, 2006). However, I regularly revisited my data transcripts throughout the research process, reading the whole of these transcripts to re-familiarise myself with the data and ensure quotes were not taken out of context.

Throughout the data analysis, I was also cautious of potential 'spurious' information that could have been given to 'help' the study (Stoudt, 2007), both by my fellow volunteers and friends, and by Sollus, who are known for their hospitality and helpfulness. Wherever possible, the participants' original colloquial wording has been left unchanged throughout the thesis. On the rare occasion, quotes were altered and unnecessary words were removed to improve readability.

## 4.6: Positionality

This thesis should be read with an awareness of the researchers' possible biases. Whilst planning, conducting, analysing and writing up my research, I kept my positionality in mind, as this could have influenced not only the responses given, but also the framing of the questions and the topics chosen to write about. Since the 1980s, there have been continuing discussions surrounding a researcher's positionality and the impact this has on research processes. It has long been refuted that researchers are able to be neutral and detached observers, and ethnographers, particularly feminist ethnographers, have called for greater reflexivity on the role of the researcher in knowledge production (Callaway, 1992). Consequently, there has been a widespread acknowledgment that researchers bring their own internal biographies and biases that inform and affect their research (Haraway, 1991). Geographers have thus begun engaging in processes of critical reflection, whereby they examine the way research is conducted and analysed (McDowell 1992; Rose 1997; Visser 2001). This includes deliberations of how a researcher's positionality affects the topic of interest, the framing and creation of interview questions, the theoretical and epistemological frameworks applied, access to data and relationships with research informants, and data interpretation and presentation (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2012). In this sense, researchers have strived to gain a fuller understanding of themselves.

Researchers have commonly highlighted attributes such as their race, gender, class, age, education and religion. These classifications determine whether the researcher is positioned as an 'insider' or an 'outsider' in their field of research (Merton, 1972). The benefits and negatives of being either an insider or outsider have been thoroughly debated. Generally, an insider status is favoured, offering rapport with, greater access to, and understanding of, the researched community (Dwyer-Buckle, 2009; Hill-Collins 1990). However, insiders have been challenged on their ability to remain objective (Serrant-Green, 2002), their tendency to overlook particular aspects of the research due to familiarity with the field (Mannay, 2010; Kanuha, 2000), and relatedly, their potential for misinterpretation (Schoenberger, 1991). Yet the idea that anyone could remain objective has been refuted by many feminist critics (Haraway, 1991; Rose, 1997). Further, Hoogendorm and Visser (2002) argue that you can never fully understand yourself, or how you might be perceived by others.

This insider/outsider debate has featured across disciplines and has evolved to recognise that the insider/outsider juxtaposition is somewhat of an unhelpful false dichotomy (Song and Parker, 1995). Instead, the boundaries have been blurred and many have revealed their position to swing between

the insider/outsider position depending on the research context at the time, and how the researcher chooses to present and construct themselves (Mullings, 1999; Kerstetter, 2012). Others have noted how they began as an outsider, but became an 'adopted insider' as the research progressed (Ganga and Scott, 2004). For instance, my positionality could be described as a young, white, female, middle class, Christian from the UK. Various elements of this positionality are likely to have influenced different parts of the research process at different times and to different extents, particularly given the research context, topic and variety of participants. As such, I could be considered an outsider, insider, both, neither and somewhere between throughout the fieldwork process (Kerstetter, 2012; Mullings, 1999).

Specifically regarding this topic, my positionality as a Christian will have had some form of influence on the research process. Many have debated a researcher's validity in researching their own religious community (see Henkel, 2011; Bailey et al, 2009). Many complicated questions arise, such as, should researchers research their own religious community? Who is best placed to do religious research? The religious or irreligious? Can a religious person be truly objective? Can anyone claim to be truly neutral and objective when researching religion (Graf, 2004)? Indeed, as noted above, it has long been refuted, mostly by feminist anthropologists, that anyone can be neutral when researching social science topics, particularly when ethnographic methods are utilised (Okely, 1992). Some scholars argue that methodological agnosticism or atheism is best when researching religious topics (Peter Berger's (1967) earlier writings for instance). This involves bracketing away the question of whether religious statements are true when researching religious individuals or groups. Hamilton (2001, 7) on the other hand, states that this constrains the researcher because it 'rules out the possibility of taking any proposition which is seen to derive from religious sources seriously'. In this instance, my positionality could be beneficial, I share the same primary beliefs as the people I was working with, and I was therefore able to take their view, that claims made from religious sources were true, seriously. Further, Maddrell (in Yorgason and della Dora, 2009, 234) questions how a 'sceptic can adequately explore profoundly powerful and personal experiences in the lives of those studied'. In this sense, my positionality as a Christian helped explore experiences that exist outside of spaces of materiality and representable meaning.

Henkel (2011) speaks of the difficulty religious researchers might have with becoming biased and maintaining objectivity when researching their own religious community. Concerning my research, it could be argued that belonging to the same religious community caused a less critical nature to be adopted when analysing my data, and that feelings of attachment to that community could discourage objectivity, and increase the potential for negative elements of the research to be covered up. However, I found the reverse was the case. Because I belong to the Christian community, I am passionate in ensuring Christian volunteering is as beneficial as possible, to both the volunteer and the community where they are volunteering. As such, I found myself being drawn to challenges and areas that seemed problematic, to ensure these could be highlighted and resolved. This meant that I had to observe myself (Henkel, 2011), and ensure I was not applying an overly negative filter to the research. This was particularly challenging when researching a topic with much public and academic debate, and divergences of opinion surrounding its challenges, benefits and best practice.

For instance, I would consider myself an activist and often campaign and raise awareness of social and environmental injustices. In a later chapter I talk about the importance of prayer as a way the volunteers responded to injustice and sought to care for the individuals they met. For me, prayer is crucial, but political action taken afterwards is equally important. For some volunteers, praying about these issues was the main or only way they sought to address these issues. Due to my personal passion for activism, this personal difference was sometimes hard to overlook and I noticed the danger of

becoming too critical. It was therefore essential to step back and remind myself that whilst normativity is not always wrong, it was also important to be objective and impartial, seeking to understand these expressions of faith.

My positionality also influenced my relationships with the research participants. With the volunteers, I was their friend, undertaking the same volunteer experience as them. We figured out the local transport system, practised Swahili, shared the highs of new cross-cultural relationships, and faced the sadness of hearing someone you work with was married at 11 years old and was a survivor of FGM. These shared experiences created bonds and genuine friendships, all of which continue. These friendships enabled rich research to be gained in a number of ways. Interviews felt like conversations we would have over dinner, and volunteers opened up to a greater extent than they would to a stranger. I was a friend and equal, from a similar cultural background, age group, and with a shared religion. However, my researcher status was overt, serving to distance me in some respects. This 'outsider' status was observed in a couple of instances, one of which is explained later in the limitations section of this chapter, and another occurring when a volunteer remarked, "do you think coming on this trip as a PhD researcher has changed your perspective of your time here" (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview). Despite such instances, I felt my positionality as a fellow volunteer and friend allowed rich and detailed information to be gained.

To Sollus and local people, I was culturally different, and I was aware that my 'whiteness' may have been associated with colonial power legacies, leading to unequal relations. However, the fact that I was young and female brought a sense of vulnerability, where Sollus felt compelled to look after me. This was compounded by a culture that is highly receptive of guests, offering unrivalled hospitality to its visitors. Additionally, and unexpectedly, was the perception by Sollus of my education status as a PhD student. They were impressed and supportive that a young female would be undertaking a PhD, and frequently made jokes that I did not look any older than some of the children in their primary school (the oldest being 15-16). Sollus advocates the education of girls, working within local communities to encourage families to send their female children to school. They were therefore supportive of my studies, and worked to accommodate my research interviews alongside my volunteer activities.

Being a Christian also enabled a level of rapport to be quickly built with those working for Sollus. The shared faith allowed feelings of connectedness, and there were frequent mentions of belonging to the family of God, a family that transcends cultural differences. In this sense, my access to information and participants was enhanced due to my status as a Christian, and I thus became closer to participants, despite other differences. As a Christian, I was also able to understand their 'language', and when phrases such as evangelism and the kingdom of God were used, I was able to comprehend the meaning of such phrases. Of course, there is always a chance that nuances in understandings could have occurred, but these were usually clear given the context of the participant's speech. When such discrepancies in understanding were suspected, I requested clarification.

The most significant element of my positionality was my dual status as a volunteer and a researcher. My confusion in this position was encapsulated when I began writing this thesis and would sometimes use 'they' to refer to the volunteers, but would just as frequently write 'we'. Here I acknowledge that I also went through a journey as a volunteer, learning and experiencing another culture alongside the other volunteers. Further, my role as a volunteer will have influenced the interviews undertaken with Sollus. Because Sollus receive funding from Amare for their community development work, it is likely that Sollus are invested in ensuring volunteers are treated well to maintain relationships with Amare. Consequently, their interview responses could have been clouded by this and it was difficult to shake the organisational association with Amare. To Sollus, I was first and foremost a volunteer attached

with Amare and their funding for some of their development projects. Tanzania also has a highly hospitable culture, where offering negative information about individuals, particularly visitors, may have been avoided. Whilst the responses from Sollus should not be written off because of this, they should be read with this in mind.

Resonating with the notions of Fois (2017b), who describes a blurring of researcher/activist boundary, I have been, and will continue to be, an active supporter of Amare. Following the fieldwork placement, I ran a half marathon to raise support for them. Indeed, I found that my research enabled me to gain greater knowledge, and be a better advocate (Scheyvens et al, 2003). My personal life thus became highly intertwined with my research, and it became hard to ascertain what was research and what was personal interest/activism. For instance, when reading the prayer diary of Amare, was I working? Was I looking at the priorities of Amare for analytical purposes, or was I reading it to inform my personal prayer life?

I found that this activist status caused me to care deeply about the effectiveness of Amare, and as such, the possibility to be biased, and 'gloss over' potentially challenging revelations from the fieldwork, was reduced. I became aware of the risk of 'field blindness'; that I was so far ingrained in the international volunteer experience, and my own personal volunteer learning, that I was not able to take a step back and effectively observe the field. As such, my ethnographic diaries often included personal and religious experiences, and personal conflicts of my dual role and confusion as a volunteer and researcher. However, there appeared no workable alterative for this, besides acknowledging it, and I have found that these personal experiences have enriched not only my data, but also my time as a researcher and my passion for this topic.

Furthermore, I realised I had many preconceptions of short-term international volunteering before entering the field. My 'personal politics'/activism that acted as my prompts for the study of this topic (Cloke et al, 2004), were already influencing my perception of the field. Before entering the field, I had engaged in readings that criticised short-term volunteering, and as such, I felt I had an overly negative filter when entering the field. Kishwar (1998) writes,

> "Contributing to social change involves deliberate attempts at mobilising opinion in a particular direction. If the conclusions, however, are predetermined by the activists' own predilections and ideas, without taking into account the situation, perceptions and wishes of those on whose behalf we seek to help bring about change, we can easily end up either being irrelevant, pompous imposters or authoritarian manipulators (Kishwar, 1998:293)"

Acknowledging this was vital for not allowing my preconceived opinions about Christian short-term international volunteering to cloud my research preparation, delivery, analysis and presentation. As such, I had to consistently observe myself, and return to my data to ensure these preconceived ideas did not influence my conclusions. If my research were to have completely confirmed my preconceptions, and failed to unearth any contradictory or surprising information, then the fieldwork process would have been useless. As such, I made a conscious effort to 'get to the bottom of things', and not overplay information confirming my preconceived ideas, or understate information that did not. However, I was also aware that despite such efforts, data collection and interpretation, particularly ethnographic and interview methods, are always interpreted through the researchers own frames of reference. Indeed Deneulin and Rakodi (2011) comment, "social scientists working in development studies should strive not to interpose their own religious and cultural assumptions between themselves and their subjects, but recognise that ultimately, observation is always filtered by the observers own lenses" (Deneulin and Rakodi, 2011, 27).

### 4.6.1: Positionality Problematized

In 2008, Moser (2008) problematized existing positionality research, arguing that the description characteristics were impersonal, static and simplistic, and did not account for a researchers' personality. She remarks,

> "While there are surely researchers among us who are viewed to varying degrees as outgoing, shy, domineering, neurotic, paranoid, hot-tempered, impatient and so on, such observations about oneself do not appear in discussions of positionality, even though these traits may have a far more significant impact on the research process and product than being, for example, a feminist, white, a post-structuralist or middle class. In this way, positionality is a highly selective version of oneself that usually serves to keep academic authority intact." (Moser, 2008; 386)

Through this, the researcher is dehumanised and disembodied (Throsby and Evans, 2013) and the more personal, and possibly less desirable, character traits that inevitably influence the research process, are not considered. Moser (2008) describes how her social skills, emotional responses to, and interest in local events, and the way she navigated the personalities of others, were the key measures she was judged by during her fieldwork process.

In recent years, there has been a steady increase in researchers considering their own personality attributes. Jansson (2010) for instance, describes the traditional aspects of his positionality, but brings to light how his shy and reserved nature initially affected him while approaching potential research participants, and may have influenced his interviews and research trajectory. Wilkinson (2016) recounts how, not only her personality, such as her extroverted, talkative and emotional nature, but also her appearance, such as her make-up, hairstyle and false eyelashes, were a significant factor shaping her fieldwork. For the research participants, her appearance displayed shared interests and commonality, which enabled her to build friendships and rapport.

In line with this emerging research, I will also disclose information on my personality traits and how these could have influenced the research process. Firstly, I would describe myself as moderately outgoing, which enabled friendships to be established quickly, particularly desirable in international fieldwork when time constraints are a significant factor in data collection. McCrae and Costa (1997, 509) contend that there are some 'universals of human nature that transcend cultural differences. For instance, someone who is by nature an extrovert will be known as such across cultures (ibid), which became evident in my case. Further, I also found that my willingness to be immersed in both the whole volunteer experience and in the local community, to be friendly, and a familiar face at local events, allowed for potential barriers, that could have been caused by traditional elements of my positionality, to be bypassed.

However, I can also often be negative and critical, so I had to ensure this did not cloud my judgement when undertaking interviews and analysing data. Further, I shy away from any form of disagreement or conflict, and as such, did not always push participants on their opinions and perspectives, particularly when speaking to FBOs about their opinions and pushbacks against common volunteering criticisms. I became aware that my appearance could have influenced rapport with my interview respondents. Whilst some elements of my appearance, such as my skin/hair colour, are unable to be changed, I ensured that I always dressed appropriately to the culture, and had some dresses made from local fabrics, which was always met with appreciation.

Not only did my personality effect the research process, but so did the personalities of my research participants. Frequently in the field, I found that interviews were granted, not necessarily due to my positionality or personality, but due to the hospitality and welcoming culture of the local people. Many at Sollus were very friendly, and enjoyed the opportunity to talk about their organisation, the work it does in the local community, and their experiences of volunteers. In short, my fieldwork experience reveals that my personality, and the personality of my research participants, had just as an important influence, if not more so, than traditional positionality elements.

### 4.6.2: Impact on Researcher

In addition to looking at the researchers' personality/positionality, and how that might affect the research process and/or participants; recent discussions are considering how the research process may affect the researcher, both on and beyond the fieldwork (Fois, 2017b). Fois (2017b) for instance, utilises a life course framework and details how partaking in the spiritual practices of the communities she was researching affected both her personal spirituality and professional life. In terms of my spiritual life, the volunteer placement was very enriching. For instance, Amare provided materials that helped us reflect on world issues such as poverty, climate change, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality and international development. These materials looked at such issues through a biblical lens and allowed space for us, as volunteers, to explore the issues with regards to our faith. In many areas of the Christian church, thinking through environmental issues in relation to the Christian faith is a relatively new area of exploration. Valerio (2016) describes how in 2005 she wrote a Bible study including a section on 'caring for our earth'. The publishing company asked her to take this out, as they did not consider it a Christian issue. Three years later however, they had approached her to write a whole Bible study guide on the environment. Whilst the church landscape around caring for the planet has shifted, it has been a slow process. As a Christian environmentalist, I found it refreshing and informative to use these resources to explore what the Bible says about environmental issues, and then apply this to my life. The philosophy of Amare was something I could deeply relate to, and as such, the fieldwork has, and will continue to have, a big impact on my personal life.

For me, personal challenges occurred when conducting research in very materially poor areas of Tanzania. On occasions, I was approached and asked for gifts of money to pay for food or school fees. These requests were emotionally challenging, as I could easily afford the price of a families' dinner and knew I would be well fed when I returned to my accommodation. However, I deemed giving financial gifts such as these inappropriate, as Sollus was teaching people not to depend on hand outs of money, but to use the resources around them. Further, local missionaries had advised us to ensure the people asking for money had used their existing social support networks, as bypassing these could cause longer-term financial difficulties. On another occasion, at a local meeting, I was interested in buying the soap a woman was selling, but was advised against this by my translator, as she said I would then be asked by everyone to buy his, or her, products. I frequently struggled with a desire to help and be generous to those who materially had so little, yet longed to do this in an appropriate way, which often meant declining requests for money, even though financial struggles were evident. This caused restless nights as I lay wondering if that family had gone to bed hungry, whilst I had been well fed. Such examples reveal the wider emotional/moral/ethical impacts the fieldwork had on myself as the researcher.

I also faced academic challenges throughout the research process. My outlook on international volunteering has constantly been formed, challenged and renegotiated according to new findings and emerging literature. I regularly fluctuated between being critical of international volunteering, and

being a proponent of it, perhaps revealing the complexity of the practice, where there are commendable elements, yet elements that remain problematic, as will be demonstrated as this thesis unfolds. Further, I came to the realisation that I did not want my research to solely be a 'pros and cons' list of international volunteering, yet I was often becoming preoccupied with this. This preoccupation led me to initially overlook ways in which faith distinguished this practice from similar secular practices, such as the importance of prayer. Time, or 'slow scholarship' (Mountz et al, 2015) was crucial in this process and the constant revisiting of my original data, literature review and written chapters, as well as taking any opportunity to speak to audiences about my work, allowed me to continually ponder, reflect and inform my analysis.

## 4.7: Ethical Considerations

After detailing my multiple positionalities, it seems prudent to discuss the ethics of the research. In terms of formal practicalities, before each interview, spoken words and/or consent forms (where appropriate) assured participants of their anonymity throughout the study, and they were informed on their right to withdraw from the interview at any point, or change the topic of conversation if they should wish (Ryen, 2004). In the case of the volunteers and Amare, I informed them of the possibility that their identity could be recognised if someone known to me personally read my thesis. All participants agreed to continue, and were happy with my assurance that, as far as possible, they would be anonymous. All names referred to in this thesis are pseudonyms, to maintain the participants' anonymity. Further, Sollus is a pseudonym for the volunteer host organisation, and Amare is a pseudonym for the sending organisation. Sollus is the Latin word for wholeness, and Amare is the Latin word for love. I felt such words reflected the missions and goals of the different organisations, while not distinguishing them in any way from the many other organisations who have similar missions. Amare requested anonymity to reduce the likelihood of their volunteers being personally identified.

Accompanying anonymity is an uneven power dimension, where the researcher has authority over the representation of an interviewee. Recognising this, data provided 'off the record' was not recorded, and interviewees were given the opportunity to add information to their recordings (Dowling, 2005). Before each interview, participants were briefed through spoken words and/or an information sheet (where appropriate), concerning the nature of the project, and detailing how their responses would be used. Ethical approval was gained from the ethics panel at Aberystwyth University, and the guidelines for ethical research outlined by Aberystwyth University were followed. Interview transcripts were anonymised and saved in password protected files and computers. Further, participant identifiers were also kept in password-protected files. Whilst my fieldwork was undertaken before GDPR came into place, I ensured that I followed such guidelines in terms of data management, and particularly, data archiving.

Whilst the Mara region of Tanzania has been identified as the field site, the specific town is unnamed. However, location and perhaps even participant or organisational recognition is likely for those familiar with my personal life, a challenge when an individual researches a topic or region he or she is also personally invested in. In this instance, the fact that multiple volunteer recruitment organisations were interviewed, not solely the one I volunteered with, should reduce this possibility. Similarly, because I was able to interview past volunteers, and volunteers from different faith-based organisations, the likelihood of recognition is further reduced. Of course, despite such formal practicalities, in reality the main ethical decisions are less obvious, and often occur in the moment, where the researchers have to think on their feet and respond to issues as their ethical/moral common

sense advises them (de Laine, 2000; Denzin, 1997). As a note, I was involved in discussions during the research process about data archiving my interview transcripts, along with other data from the wider GLOBAL-RURAL research project, which this thesis contributes to. Such data archiving would allow future researchers access and use of this data. However, we decided against archiving the data based on anonymity. Here the transcripts included many references to names of participants, places and organisations. To ensure my participants remained anonymous, and because the redaction process would have rendered these transcripts nonsensical to readers, the decision against data archiving was made. In line with this, my interview transcripts are not included in any appendices.

In many ways, one of the most ethically challenging elements of undertaking interviews with volunteers occurred when volunteers shared stories of their first-hand experiences of extreme poverty. This often brought about emotional distress for the volunteer and sometimes myself. Due to feelings of trust and friendship, mutual comfort could be provided. In one case, I asked if the volunteer would rather move on to another question, but she remarked that it was helpful to process and talk about her experience and feelings. Madge (1997:114) asserts that in development studies research, 'ethical research should not only do no harm, but also have potential to do good, to involve empowerment'. Considering this, I decided that although the volunteer seemed outwardly distressed, this time to speak about her experiences was more helpful than distressing, so allowed the conversation to continue. Becoming close friends with these volunteers meant I was made privy to personal information that was shared with a friend, not a researcher. As such, this information was never recorded in research notes.

At times my dual position as a volunteer and researcher did cause some volunteers to feel uneasy about interviews, whilst talking about deep emotional experiences is common among friends, the knowledge that one friend is a researcher, has a Dictaphone and will be writing about your responses can be slightly unusual. Indeed, one interview was terminated early as it became clear the participant was uneasy about me recording her responses. Following this termination, she spoke about encounters that would have generated rich data for the thesis; however, this discussion was not included in the thesis. Conversely, other instances showed that the interview process was enriching for the volunteers. During a final interview, when I asked about recommendations the volunteers might give to future volunteers, one participant said; "take a PhD student with you so they can help you reflect on your experience" (Ffion, volunteer, post-placement interview). Past volunteers expressed similar notions, for instance, Katie remarked "I love talking about my time in Uganda" (Katie, past volunteer), and Becky stated "no-one has listened to me for this long talking about Tanzania, people get bored or can't relate " (Becky, past volunteer). Participating in my research thus became a rewarding experience for both myself and the participants.

Corbridge (1998) reveals how it is crucial for development studies scholars to have an obligation to inform development practice, by providing plausible alternatives to current patterns of development, and give examples of best practice. In line with this, I have composed reports of the challenges and benefits of international volunteering, including examples of best practice and recommendations. Further, a synthesised version of my PhD and its findings has been developed. These have been distributed to Sollus, Amare and to the different volunteer recruitment organisations that were interviewed. Further, I conducted a feedback session with Amare and the discussions and outcomes of this are presented in the concluding chapter on this thesis. By enabling access to my findings through these different means, it is hoped that this research will play a part in ensuring that international volunteering is beneficial and sustainable for all parties involved.

Fieldwork in 'developing' countries can give rise to many ethical dilemmas, most of which relate to power dimensions between the researcher and the participants. However, there was little I could do

to change these unequal power dimensions, however I ensured I acted in a sensitive and respectful manner, seeking to learn from the opinions and knowledge of those I met (Chambers, 1997), whether that be in terms of interview material, or learning to make Ugali (a common Tanzanian food). In this way, I was able to show I appreciated their knowledge and culture. Further, since undertaking my fieldwork, I have been in regular contact with Sollus, sharing the findings of my research and giving voice to their opinions and perspectives. Whilst such measures do not mean power imbalances are eliminated, it meant I was able to show Sollus I respected and valued their organisation and their input into my research.

## 4.8: Research Limitations

As expected, some methodological challenges or limitations arose during the research process. Some of these limitations surrounded my positionality, where as previously described, one of the volunteers felt uncomfortable with the interview process, disclosing her nervousness and scepticism as to why I was interested in her opinions, and as to what I would be doing with her responses. Further, Sollus may have felt uncomfortable talking about the more problematic elements of hosting volunteers due to their hospitable nature, despite my assurances that data would be anonymous and that I would not feel personally offended. I found however, that this was reduced as I became better acquainted with certain individuals and described the purpose of the research. A further complication from my volunteer positionality could have been arisen because of the institutional funding Amare provides for Sollus. As such, there may have been hesitancy in sharing openly in case any future funding was altered. However, attempts were made to minimise this through the backing of Amare, and their communicated desire that they should hear about both benefits and challenges of receiving volunteers.

I would have liked to gain the volunteer perspectives of more people outside of the 18-30 age bracket. However, faith-based volunteer placements, by nature, often attract younger people, and as such, only one participant was not in the 18-30 age bracket. Additionally, in retrospect, it may have proved beneficial to remain in Tanzania following the official volunteer trip, to work more closely with Sollus and the local people. Owing to prior commitments to partake fully in the volunteer programme, my time in the field was often constrained. Whilst sufficient data was gained by undertaking interviews in the evenings and at weekends, further freedom of time to integrate with Sollus and the local community may have revealed some more interesting insights.

At the onset of this research project, I had hoped to explore the involvement of Christian international volunteers in environmental conservation and environmental justice activities, in order to address a lack of research considering the topic. This research would have been undertaken with a Christian environmental conservation organisation in Kenya. However, the lengthy and expensive process of applying for, and being granted, a research permit with this organisation was not anticipated. Further, there were increasing safety concerns surrounding the location of the case study site. As such, I decided to alter the research, undertaking further fieldwork in Tanzania and back in the UK, and shifting the focus from solely the volunteers themselves, to incorporating the responses and opinions of local missionaries and host organisations. Whilst some information of environmental issues was gained from the fieldwork in Tanzania, the focus became more on social justice, poverty, inequality and injustice. In retrospect, this alteration of focus allowed for a more detailed picture of Christian international volunteering and its impacts to be gained, and I believe it has enhanced the findings and conclusions. However, owing to the lack of research exploring Christian international volunteering and environmental activities, it would be worthwhile for future researchers to develop this work,

particularly given the increased focus on environmental conservation activities in many Christian organisations.

# 5. Motivations and Expectations for Christian International Volunteer Programmes: Unpacking Volunteer Rationales

## 5.0: Introduction

In this chapter, I unpack the rationale of the volunteers for participating in Christian international volunteer programmes. Here I examine the overlaps and differences between Christian international volunteering and secular international volunteering to see whether distinct faith-based rationales influence volunteers in their decision to volunteer. Although motivation to volunteer is one of the most regularly researched themes in the field of volunteering research (see Wilson 2012 for a fuller overview), few studies have explored specifically the motivations of Christians to volunteer internationally (with the exception of Hopkins et al, 2015). As such, I build on existing geographical literature analysing volunteer motivation by exploring the role religion, faith and spirituality play in informing this. Through this, I explore and investigate my first research objective: to understand the rationale behind participation in Christian international volunteer programmes.

## 5.1: Volunteer rationale

Various studies have analysed the motivations of Christians to volunteer domestically (Yeung, 2004; Ozorak, 2003; Park and Smith, 2000; Erasmus and Morey, 2016), and others have shown that those who consider themselves to be very religious are more likely to engage in volunteer work (Smith and Stark, 2009; Einolf, 2011; Youniss et al, 1999; Wilson and Janoski, 1995; Wuthnow, 1991; Smith and Denton, 2005; Trinitapoli and Vaisey, 2009). Other studies have explored motivations to volunteer internationally, yet from a secular perspective (Okabe et al, 2017; Unstead-Joss, 2008; Rehberg, 2005; Sherraden et al, 2006; Tiessen, 2012; Meneghini, 2016; Jones, 2011). Yet, the way religion and volunteering internationally entwine and influence each other remains under researched; indeed Erasmus and Morey (2016) call for more qualitative studies to increase insight on the role of religiosity and spirituality in influencing volunteer motivations. As such, this thesis now turns to contribute to this lacuna.

During this section, it should be noted that it was rare for volunteers to mention one motivation in isolation. Rather, there were layers of motivations that co-existed and overlapped, both religious and secular, although religious reasons were more dominant. Further, volunteers did not mention all the motivations discussed below, and different volunteers displayed a different mixture of motivations. Some motivations are likely to be more apparent than others, and this can change during one's lifetime (Unstead-Joss, 2008) Race, age, gender, ethnicity and religion also significantly influence motivation for participation (Sherraden et al, 2008). Indeed Jones has noted that 'the motivations of young people to undertake this kind of activity is complex, with research indicating that a range of motivational factors are behind an individual's choice to volunteer' (Jones, 2011, 534). The nature of the voluntary programme will also influence the motivations discussed. For instance, a volunteer trip that focusses on cultural exchange is likely to attract those who are motivated to learn a new language, whereas a volunteering for development programme is likely to attract those who are motivated to learn about, and be involved in, international development. As such, comparisons to previous research can be challenging. Despite this, I show how my research builds on existing research, considering this in any comparisons.

Also of relevance here is emerging geographies of youth and youth citizenship and ideas of 'coming of age' and what this looks like. Mills and Waite (2018) draw on the case study of the National Citizen Service (NCS hereafter) to show the imaginative and institutional geographies of learning to be a citizen. This government run scheme, becomes a time and space where young people can 'come of age' and partake in activities to mould and form them into particular types of 'active and good adult citizens' (Mills, 2013; Pykett et al, 2010). Such activities may involve community service and voluntary action, political debates, meeting new people, overcoming challenges and working as part of team to manage a project (see also Smith and Mills, 2019). Through this the young individuals can boost their CV and transition into 'successful and responsible' adulthood where such political and voluntary activity would continue through their lifecourse (Mills and Waite, 2018). NCS is positioned as a rite of passage where individuals can take practical action in the service of others to create positive change, and though this, take their place in society as full and active citizens.

Mills (2013) delves further into this idea of instruction in good citizenship through examining the Scout Movement in Britain and reveals the significance of non-school spaces in positioning young people as citizen subjects. Existing geographical scholarship of youth citizenship commonly focusses on school environments (such as Pykett 2009; Weller 2007; Gruffudd 1996; Ploszajska 1996, 1998), yet Mills (2013) examines alternative spaces where youth citizenship is enacted and mobilised. This work around youth citizenship parallels with the practice of Christian international volunteering, which typically attracts young Christians on gap years and offers, explicitly or implicitly, transformational learning outside of a classroom setting. Indeed, many youth movements such as the Scout Movement were born out of faith movements where faith was seen as intertwined with forms of good citizenship. Like the Scout Movement or NCS, Christian overseas programmes are often seen as a rite of passage for the young Christian where the individuals can go away from home, sometimes for the first time and come home as mature and active Christian adults (Hopkins et al, 2010). Organisations offering overseas programmes show how taking part can allow individuals to develop their religious maturity and relationship with God, can meet other Christian across the world and gain a fuller appreciation of the global church. Further, they can take part in evangelism, mission and social outreach and experience other cultures across the world and develop a particular sense of global citizenship, seen through their religiosity. Indeed, many of these are expectations and motivations of the young volunteers, as this chapter will show.

In this chapter, I take heed of Rehberg's (2005) concern that qualitative studies on motivations are often associated with problems of generalizing results. The qualitative measures used allow participants the option to explore their own motivations instead of fitting into the pre-determined options often used in quantitative studies. Thus, qualitative research methods are valuable in gaining a rich and deep understanding of what motivates volunteers. However, results can be generalised where a picture of how many participants, or to what extent the participants, are motivated by a particular motivation could be missed. In recognition of this, I have indicated which motivations were more dominant and which were less so. Yet, this thesis calls for more research that utilises a mixed methods approach to understand the extent to which the motivations found in this research could be applied elsewhere. Finally, it is important to note that an individual's original motives for volunteering may not be sustained throughout their time volunteering, where perceptions, expectations and desires for the volunteer placements may change. Indeed this is a focus of subsequent chapters.

## 5.2: Religion, faith and spirituality

From the research, it was clear that volunteers were principally motivated by their faith, reflecting the findings of Hopkins et al (2015). McAlister (2008) explains that what theologians write, what ministers'

preach and what liturgies declare are all important. These doctrines, theologies, worldviews and teachings cannot be separated from the religious experiences and activities of those who practice it. Indeed, they each shape each other, giving each other meaning and significance. Bourdieu's (1977) work on practice is relevant here. For Bourdieu (1977), practices can only be distinguished in part from the regulatory principles that shape them; our actions are neither completely free nor completely prescribed. Rather they are subjected to principles, recommendations and rituals that regulate and orient practice. When studying Christianity, such principles and rituals refer to theologies, interpretations of the Bible and teachings of the church. Understanding practice (volunteering) then involves analysing the structures that orient human activities and behaviours (motivations). As such, this first section of the chapter now delves deeper into what specific aspects of religious involvement influence individuals to volunteer internationally.

### 5.2.1: Personal Faith Growth

Self-oriented reasons for volunteering have been documented as the predominant reasons one might volunteer overseas (Noxolo, 2011). Previous research has shown that the desire and expectation for personal growth and maturity when volunteering is a central, if not principle, determinant for voluntary behaviour (Rehberg, 2005; Tiessen, 2018). In a religious context, previous research has also found that this personal growth and maturity is manifested in a desire for one's own spiritual development (McAlister, 2008). This thesis echoes these notions, with the most frequently mentioned motivation for volunteers being to personally develop and grow in one's faith. Consider the following statements,

> "I want to grow in my faith and relationship with God" (Lydia, volunteer, pre-placement interview),
>
> "I really wanted to do something for God in my gap year, to grow in my faith." (Victoria, volunteer, pre-placement interview)
>
> "Personally, I want to grow in faith and be drawn closer to God because ultimately then, the closer I am to Him, the more he'll be able to use me to help others. I think being around people who've had to endure completely different life to us and seeing their faith I think will be really incredibly encouraging and inspiring. " (Naomi, pre-departure interview).
>
> "I think because I thought I wanted to volunteer but I thought that if you did it for a non-Christian organisation it wouldn't be the same. This was an opportunity to grow in my faith as well as get an experience" (Ed, past volunteer)

Spiritual growth motivations like those above were common amongst the volunteers and they expected that they could, and would, undergo personal spiritual transformations (McAlister, 2008). These personal spiritual transformations were often expressed as a growth in faith or growth in a relationship with God. This research thus mirrors that of Hopkins et al (2015) who found that the young Christians in their study reported a desire for an increased resilience and self-confidence in their personal relationships with God. For these volunteers, transnational volunteering opportunities are

sought after as a context of commonality in faith and a place where their faith can be stretched and tested, as they cope with new and unfamiliar environments. In this, they expect to be placed outside their comfort zone and experience difference and poverty, which they believe will cause spiritual growth. Naomi for instance, speaks of being encouraged and inspired in her faith by those who have experienced hardships in their life, yet continue to live as Christians. For many volunteers, their host countries were viewed as mystical places where one would magically experience faith growth. In this, we can see how African countries become an arena where one can test out their faith and experience a personally enriching experience in terms of their Christian faith. Here we can witness a mix of exoticism and spiritual longing where individuals in host countries are idealised as having the desired close communion with God.

This personal faith growth motivation reinforces the 'global learning playground' critique of Baillie Smith and Laurie (2011). In this, they reveal a problematic element of international volunteer placements, where volunteers are sent to 'developing' countries to learn about development and become global citizens. This could reveal an attitude where 'developing' countries are seen as a global learning playground for volunteers to enter into for a short while, to learn and grow, yet return home after a short amount of time. Such a criticism could also apply to this idea of personal faith growth, where an experience in a 'developing' country can be used for one's own personal spiritual growth. This personal faith growth shows how volunteering can be a highly neoliberal activity, undertaken for mostly self-motivated reasons. Erasmus and Morey (2016) find that learning and growing are common motivations amongst their participants, yet question whether Christian volunteers may find ego-related functions contrary to their belief systems and call for further qualitative research to investigate this. This research answers this call, finding that many volunteers are actually motivated by self-oriented outcomes or benefits. Clearly then, self-related functions are not contrary to the belief systems of the volunteers. However, these personal faith growth motivations were not mentioned in isolation, they were often combined with other motivations, as this section proceeds to discuss.

### 5.2.2: Practical Faith

Religious involvement has been linked with the promotion of altruism and caring for others above oneself (Greeley, 1997; Wilson and Janoski, 1995). Some writers have started looking at the presence of altruism in volunteering practices finding that, in most cases, even if altruism isn't the primary motivation for volunteering, it plays a significant role (Rehberg, 2005; Burns et al, 2006). This research reflects this, where it was common for volunteers to speak about becoming active in their faith through volunteering and using volunteering as a way to help others, often inspired by their faith. Indeed, one of the most commonly registered motivation for volunteering overseas is to make a difference by helping others (Lough et al, 2011). This research echoes this finding, yet demonstrates how Christian volunteers may be inspired to help because of their faith, demonstrated by Naomi's quote from the preceding section, which I return to here. She states,

> "Personally, I want to grow in faith and be drawn closer to God because ultimately then, the closer I am to Him, the more he'll be able to use me to help others." (Naomi, pre-departure interview).

Naomi reveals how her spiritual growth, or spiritual capital, is not something solely for the benefit of herself, but rather, through the expansion of her spiritual capital, she is able to serve others. In this, Naomi reflects the spiritual and religious capital conceptualisations of Baker and Skinner (2006), where one's spirituality energises the practical contribution made to society. For Naomi, growing in faith is beneficial for both herself and others, as she acknowledges that she will be better prepared to help them. Naomi proceeds to show what this help will look like during her volunteer time.

> "I guess part of it is just to learn to love the people and build relationships with them. Then, through faith showing them, through deeds and through works, so maybe that's teaching or building something, or helping out with construction or spending time with them. I think its hopefully to draw people a little closer to God, and hopefully then make a difference physically at the same time. But mostly, spiritually because actually that's the stuff that's going to last for eternity". (Naomi, volunteer, in-country interview)

Naomi's spirituality, or spiritual capital, energises the practical contribution she makes whilst volunteering. For Naomi, this religious capital or practical contribution relates both to the material contributions she might make during her time in Tanzania, whether it is building classrooms or building relationships with the local people. She also speaks about helping to make a difference spiritually. For her, addressing spiritual poverty is of greater importance than addressing material or physical poverty, as she believes this has eternal significance. This emphasis on spiritual poverty will be explored further in Chapter 8.

Here we can also see ideas of praxis and practical theology (Ganzevoort and Roeland, 2014). In this, faith is not solely personal or institutional, but rather active and practical in the way one lives in relation to others. Ozorak (2003) shows how many Christians desire to live as Christ lived and to be faithful to the commands God has given his followers, such as to care for those who are poor and vulnerable. The faith of these individuals causes them to seek out appeals for help, leading them to volunteer. For Katie, her motivation to volunteer centred on biblical charges to care for the poor.

> "I was just seeing the words in the Bible about serving the poor, loving your neighbour, and faith without works is dead. So I was thinking okay there's so much of my active faith that I am not living out. I think God was growing me, sort of biblically and in my relationship with him. By the end of my final year [of university] I was like I need to go, I need to act on this and test out what I'm really believing and what my faith is, in a context different to my own and familiar to me" (Katie, past volunteer)

In Katie's quote, we see how her faith and religious values encourage the concern she has for those who are poor and is thus eager to make positive contributions to society (Youniss and Yates, 1999). For Katie, volunteering becomes a meaningful way she can express these philanthropic concerns by caring for others and serving the poor. Reading the Bible was integral in Katie's decision to volunteer and in forming her care for others. For Wilhelm and Bekkers (2010), emotion alone is not enough to motivate volunteering; rather it needs to be associated with some form of obligation. From this research, we see a form of religious obligation expressed by Katie, where she considers her faith without action to be dead. Katie here feels a religious sense of responsibility to help others, which she expresses through volunteering. Further, Katie reveals the importance of expressing one's faith through actions and care for others, rather than expressing one's faith through belief and creed. Such notions resonate with the work of Cloke et al (2012), who speak of an emerging trend in many religious traditions where learning about one's faith through theology and creed is being eclipsed with learning about one's faith through practice and action. However, we can see that for Katie, there has not been

a complete move away from theology and creed; rather it is her theology and interpretations of the Bible's teachings that inspires her to become active in her faith by caring for others through volunteering. This can also be seen in Laura's quote below.

> "I think a driving factor was the passage in 1 John which talks about how we are loved because God first loved us. And that motivated me to spend my time on my gap year doing things that were loving to others in order to, out of a place of God first loved me, to show that love to other people". (Laura, past volunteer)

For Laura, her motivation to volunteer comes from her experience of God's love for her. This love from God causes her to use her gap year to show love to other people. This research thus echoes the notion of Cloke et al (2012) showing that many are choosing volunteering as a way of becoming active in their faith and though this, their faith gains meaning. Yet there has not been a complete move away from learning about faith through theology and creed. For these volunteers, their readings of the Bible were crucial in their decision to love and care for others, which inspired them to volunteer. Goldberg (1991) and Wuthnow (1991) similarly find that familiarity with religious narratives and parables that assert the value of charitable and caring behaviour influence voluntary behaviours, particularly when this is modelled by others with whom one has close connection.

Further, this loving and caring image of God that Laura speaks of has been previously linked with acts of volunteering. Both Goldberg (1991) and McClendon and Smith (2014) show how a personal element of a relationship with God uniquely influences behaviour. When individuals experience the intense love of God in their relationships with Him, it leads to action that imitates this care and love to others. Caring for others through volunteering seems to be a crucial part of a religious sense of self. The presence of this motivation is perhaps not surprising given previous research attesting to this motivation (Erasmus and Morey, 2016), as well as the context of a Christian community where mission activities and concerns for social justice are central to the Christian belief system. For instance, in many parts of the Bible we read of commands for Christians to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and care for the sick. Religion here is seen to promote altruism and emphasise the need to serve the common good (Youniss and Yates, 1999).

Relatedly, Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) explore the mechanisms that explain the relationship between religion and philanthropic actions, such as volunteering. They position an individual's convictions as a strong motivator for voluntary actions in religious communities. Convictions here refers to religious beliefs that encourage altruism (a concern for others), psychological benefits (guaranteeing a place in heaven), and values (importance of helping others) (ibid). Katie and Laura's quote refers to this conviction element, revealing how their interpretation of the Bible and its commands influences their desire to volunteer and thereby 'serve the poor' and 'love their neighbours'. Whilst Katie acknowledges that faith without works is dead, this does not seem to relate to guaranteeing a place in heaven, rather a concern for integrity in faith and a realisation that active faith involves caring for others. From the aforementioned quotes, we can see how religious beliefs, both commands to care for the poor and religious beliefs in the love of God spill over into the love of others and motivate these individuals to express these religious convictions to care for others through volunteering.

This practical faith was not only expressed in helping, loving and caring for other people; it was also expressed using narratives of 'serving God'. Helen and Dan for instance state,

> "I thought it [volunteering] was a good way to serve God, its important to go where God is calling you. You'd be going to them encouraged to serve God so you'd be doing it more in a way that you'd feel you were serving him I guess. (Helen, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "we're here to serve God. I hope to be able to make some sort of difference over there for God and for his Kingdom. (Dan, past volunteer)

For these volunteers, there was an additional reason to care for others and to undertake altruistic actions; because they felt it would be a way to serve God. For these individuals, serving others was a way of serving God, mirroring calls in the Bible. For instance, in Matthew's gospel, Jesus says to His followers, "as you did to the least of my brothers and sisters, you did to me" (Matthew, 25:40). Here we can see how religious commitment predisposes individuals to care for others as a way to serve God and live integrally as a Christian.

### 5.2.3: Feeling 'Called'

Many volunteers also expressed that they felt 'called' by God to volunteer. Consider the following quotes,

> "So I felt a connection to this continent, but I'd never particularly wanted to come. It just wasn't up there on my radar of things to do and things to achieve, but that evening I felt God speak to me and say that He wanted me to do short-term mission and it came out of nowhere. I hadn't expected it". (Chris, past volunteer)

> "I knew it was where God was calling me and leading me so I went for it. I know it's what God wants, He called and I went" (Naomi, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "I felt called to do it" (Victoria, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

Chris, Naomi and Victoria use the language of feeling 'called by God', displaying how their spirituality informed their decision to volunteer, feeling that God was communicating with them personally and leading them to volunteer. Katie uses similar language, rather than being called, she says she has a heart for Africa.

> "Africa had always been a place on my heart, I'd always wanted to go, I think I was fascinated by it, I thought it was a cool place". (Katie, past volunteer)

Katie describes her motivation to volunteer as 'having a heart' for Africa. Such notions have been explored by McAlister (2008) who comments that since the mid-1990's, this 'having a heart' for language has been used to describe a passion that goes beyond a mere predilection. This 'having a heart for' could also be related to the narratives of 'feeling called', where individuals feel God is genuinely telling them to go somewhere, which to ignore would be contrary to their religious beliefs and identity. For McAlister (2008), this 'heart for' language denotes an unplanned moment of contact

with God, regarding a certain issue that leads the believer to an understanding or revelation of God's plans for them. It can be God-given and unusual in its intensity and crossing borders is common when individuals use this language. Hetrick states,

> 'having a heart for' something is the "believer's cognizance of the relationship—or solidarity—established by God between the believer and that something before, we can assume, birth. While the believer can indeed choose to not consciously develop this orientation, such a rejection is to the eventual detriment of the believers' quality of life; in other words, to discover and then attempt to sever this solidarity is in essence to live only partially." (in McAlister, 2008, 889).

Of course, it's possible that 'heaving a heart for' or 'feeling called' is something that has become common parlance in Christian circles, used to describe a general inclination or desire. Yet, there seems to be a distinct religious undertone to the description of why these individuals choose to volunteer, where they genuinely feel God has lead them to take part in these voluntary schemes. Thus, to not take part would be going against their religious beliefs and convictions and their personal relationship with God.

### 5.2.4: Missionary Taster

Some of the volunteers were also motivated to volunteer as they wanted to experience life as a missionary. A missionary here is understood as someone who permanently lives in a country different to his or her country of birth, often a 'developing' country. These missionaries live in these countries with the express purpose of bearing witness to their faith, seeking converts to Christianity and undertaking activities for social justice, humanitarian assistance and international development. Consider the below statements,

> "I wanted to do something that was purely missionary based. I wanted it to be a good length of time to really experience it". (David, past volunteer)

> "I am considering long term mission, whether God says go now or in 50 years I don't know". (Naomi, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "I think the main thing was I just really wanted to go to Africa. I knew a lot about missionary work and missionaries going out to places and I thought that sounds really good. A good thing to do, and I did want to go and help, but also just to experience what life was like for the missionaries". (Nick, past volunteer)

Naomi believes she is being called, or led by God, to undertake missionary work long term. For her, this volunteering placement is a way she can experience life as a missionary and test out this calling. For David, the length of time on his placement was significant. He travelled for six months and felt like this length of time would allow him to have an immersive experience where he could experience life as a missionary. Nick was attracted to both visiting Africa and helping the missionary efforts, yet he also wanted to see what life was like for these missionaries. Commonly those who were attracted to experiencing life as a missionary went on longer placements of around six months and were those people who had volunteered internationally more than once. Such facts signify that the voluntary placements were more than investing in one's self for these individuals, but were testing to see if a

real commitment could be made later in one's life. Further, Victoria comments,

> "I hope I can, obviously with Gods help, turn people to God, or encourage people who are Christians already". (Victoria, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

A key part in the life of a missionary is bearing witness to one's faith and helping build the church and global Christian community. This missionary activity inspires Victoria, where we can see a conviction that God has empowered her to seek converts and encourage other Christians (see also, Ozorak, 1997). Here we can see that volunteering activities are more than building schools and addressing material poverty, for these volunteers, their volunteer placements are important in addressing spiritual poverty and strengthening the global Christian community.

We could also view this missionary taster motivation in a similar light to career or CV building motivations (Tiessen, 2008; Jones, 2011; Simpson, 2004; Galley and Clifton, 2004; McGloin and Georgeou, 2016). For Tiessen (2018) undertaking volunteering as a way to develop one's academic study or career prospects was the second most important motivation for her participants. For some, an overseas placement was a way they could stand out from others in the job market. For others, the placement was a way they could discern whether a career in development work was suitable for them. Narratives provided for this research did not allude to enhancing one's CV, yet there was a sense that some volunteers were testing out the waters of a future as a missionary or for long-term commitment to overseas development and/or ministry work. It is likely that through volunteering, these volunteers will also be able to gain the skills and experiences required of full time missionaries, such as cross-cultural awareness, language skills, theological training and experience in evangelism. Such skills may also improve their chances of gaining a position as a missionary and the required support. However, it seems that principally, there is a genuine interest in seeing whether a long-term missionary commitment could be made later in life.

### 5.2.5: Encouraged to by others

For these Christians, religious networks, or religious capital provided the means for volunteering abroad. Volunteers are required to raise large amounts of money to fund their placements, and significant proportions of this came from churches, religious funding bodies or fellow worshipers. Chloe, in her pre-departure interview, states,

> "I had an interview [in church] and we have a church newspaper so I've written an article. I've been in the church notices, everywhere, every week this is my just giving page. Then we have a bake sale on Sunday. Sometimes people have just given me money" (Chloe, pre-departure interview).

Mills and Waite (2018) reveal how many social action projects entail a fundraising element, which can become a barrier to the participation of young people in such schemes, particularly if their friends and family find it difficult to support their fundraising efforts. For these volunteers, their religious networks proved invaluable in this respect, and the volunteers acknowledged that without the religious institutions they would not have been able to volunteer. Such religious networks, or religious capital, account for the variety of participants from different socio-economic backgrounds that took part in the volunteering placements. Whilst many of the participants possessed a higher socio-economic

status and thus had the capacity to travel, the picture is more complex than this with some volunteers sitting outside of the traditional middle class volunteer stereotype. Religious networks can, in some instances, remove or reduce the barriers prohibiting participation in these volunteering placements.

Many international volunteering pursuits have been critiqued for favouring those with the capacity to travel, as opposed to those who are active on issues of poverty alleviation and justice (Baillie-Smith, 2016). Ideas of poverty and justice have then been sidelined in international volunteering, and exchanged with the personal capital of those who are able to partake in it. Whilst this research reveals that personal capital, such as faith growth, may often accompany, or eclipse, commitments to justice and poverty, it also reveals interesting data that refutes the notion that all international volunteer placements favour those who are most mobile. For those who might not commonly be able to travel, i.e. those of a lower socio-economic status, religious institutions can provide the necessary funds to travel overseas.

The probability of someone volunteering has been commonly linked with social capital. For instance, social networks and membership to organisations is likely to increase an individual's likelihood and ability to volunteer by knowledge of available opportunities, or simply by being asked to (Rehberg, 2005; Janoski et al, 1998). Wilson (2000) and Janoski et al (1998) find that family and friendship networks are of particular importance in encouraging volunteers through their knowledge and personal experience of volunteering. This was also replicated in this research, yet seen in their religious social networks, or religious capital. Consider the following statements,

> "Some people approached me at church and said they thought it'd be a good idea if I did a mission trip" (Helen, past volunteer)

> "I've got a lot of friends who've done this trip and have all just said it changed their lives. They're doing it with God". (Sophie, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "my friend at church he was 15 when he went away and before then I don't know if he would have been open about his Christian faith with his friends or other people and he came back and he was more confident, he would speak about it more and be more intentional. From someone that was younger that was pretty inspiring and I wanted to do those things and gain the knowledge to be able to do that". (Lydia, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "we've always had missionaries come in to church and give talks about what they're doing in Africa and we see pictures and videos of it and it looks amazing so I've always wanted to do something like that". (Laura, past volunteer)

Through Helen, Sophie, Lydia and Laura, we can see how their religious networks play a crucial role in informing their decision to volunteer. Helen was explicitly approached by people in her church who encouraged her to seek mission opportunities and for Sophie and Lydia, witnessing other friends and people in their church doing such volunteer placements, and seeing the ways it had affected their lives, inspired them to also seek this opportunity. For Sophie and Lydia, the desire to volunteer is driven by the personal benefits they could gain from volunteering. It seems that to some extent, and

perhaps not surprisingly, the volunteers are motivated to volunteer because they have seen others who have done so. Indeed the idea that undertaking a short-term volunteer/mission trip as almost a rite of passage when one grows up has been noted elsewhere (Hopkins et al, 2015; McAlister, 2008). This research thus supports the view that social capital, or in this case, religious capital, is central in motivating and mobilising individuals to volunteer. Religious involvement is also educational here. For Laura, through the stories of missionaries, she becomes more aware of social concerns such as poverty, which she might not have been aware of otherwise.

## 5.3: Beyond the Religious

Whilst it was clear from the research that religious reasons dominated the motivations of the volunteers, particularly those revolved around personal faith growth, there were other motivations mentioned by volunteers that did not contain religious narratives. Indeed some of the volunteers expressed that religious motivations did not play a part at all in their reasons to volunteer. Ed and Kathryn for instance state,

> "I think I've always wanted to go volunteer, I don't think I'd put that with the whole Christian thing but I think it does play a part" (Ed, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "I wouldn't have said I had a faith before I went" (Kathryn, past volunteer)

From Ed and Kathryn we can see that for some, even though they are taking part in Christian voluntary programmes, their faith may not have played a role in motivating them to take part, or indeed, they might not express a personal faith such as Kathryn, or belong to a religious community. As such, this section progresses to explore the non-religious reasons respondents spoke about in their motivations to volunteer. It should be noted that for most volunteers, these motivations were used in conjunction with some of the aforementioned religious motivations; yet for others (5 volunteers out of 23) these non-religious narratives were their sole motivators.

### 5.3.1: Helping Others

Previous research investigating volunteer motivations and the significance of altruism and helping other has found diverging results. Wearing, (2001) for instance, found that altruism was the central motivation for volunteering, however, most studies have found that whilst international volunteers are motivated by altruism and helping others, this is often combined with, or overshadowed by, expectations for their own good (Rehberg, 2005; Tiessen, 2005). For Rehberg's (2005) respondents, volunteering was a way of both helping others and oneself. This is perhaps not surprisingly given that international volunteering usually requires a large monetary and time cost from the volunteers and as such, is likely to have self-interested motivations combined with altruism. For some participants, helping narratives had a religious undertone, yet other participants expressed a more general inclination towards helping others. Such non-religious helping narratives were the most dominant non-religious motivations of the volunteers. Consider the below comments,

> "I think I wanted to experience another country, possibly help out, another third world country. Sort of help out, and do things like that. Like I'd wanted to do something like this for quite a while" (Kathryn, past volunteer)

> "I wanted to use my time to benefit the people who were poorer and needier than me. Looking where can I use my time to help". (Laura, past volunteer)

> "I think maybe that's what draws people in to go volunteer, to see the extreme poverty and to try and be a small part in helping someone in their extreme poverty. Because, there's not thousands of people in the UK which you could go and take half a bottle of water to and that would make their day or year even. (Helen, past volunteer)

> "it seemed a bit self-indulgent to just go travelling and not do something more meaningful". (Annie, past volunteer)

Many of the respondents, such as Kathryn and Laura, explicitly used the words 'help' in their reasons for volunteering, displaying altruistic tendencies. Helen and Annie reveal how they position volunteering as something meaningful and a way they can care for others. For Annie, to solely travel felt self-indulgent and volunteering was a way she could contribute to society as well as have a good time personally. During interviews, when ideas of helping and caring were used, it was often in an abstract way, with no specific ways of helping mentioned. It seemed that volunteers generally had very little awareness of how it was they would be able to help individuals whilst volunteering. Rather there was a general belief that simply having a desire to help would be sufficient for bringing change to the lives of individuals abroad.

Relatedly, ideas of justice or equality were relatively absent. Rather, altruistic motivations related more to an ethical inclination to help, give and do something good. Such general inclinations of helping reflect softer forms of global citizenship and charity, where voluntary actions focus on the experience and agency of the 'helper', rather than on seeking to understand and challenge the situations of those they are seeking to help (Jefferess, 2008; Andreotti, 2006; Palacios, 2010). For Kathryn, Laura and Helen, their motivations centre on what they believe they can bring to the situations of those they deem poor, needy and living in the third world. Helen's comment reveals how volunteering abroad was attractive to her because she believed she could 'make someone's day' by giving them a bottle of water. Helen's actions are the central focus here and the situation of those without access to clean water is used to help Helen feel good about her actions and know she played a part in helping that person. Annie further reflects this, commenting,

> "I knew I wanted to do something charitable, I just really enjoy it, I like the feeling you get from it. Even if it's just the smallest difference it's nice to know you are making a difference". (Annie, past volunteer)

Here we see that volunteering for Annie is largely focussed around herself and the feeling she will get from helping. Relatedly, Griffiths and Brown (2017) show how the mobilisation of caring morals for volunteering has caused a depoliticisation of development and individualisation of volunteers. Vrasti and Montsion (2014) show how images used in international volunteering promotion show a global community of care, generosity and responsibility, which is not a bad thing in itself, yet they comment how no attention is paid to transnational power relations connected to capitalism and colonialism. Further, Raymond and Hall (2008) argue that inappropriate roles arise from the inclination or imperative to help where the volunteer is positioned as racially and culturally superior, and thus able to help. Such a criticism could also be applied in the context of this thesis, where just by being a Christian from the UK, with no formal theological or ministry training; these individuals are positioned as religiously superior.

This research also revealed how these volunteers make comparisons between themselves and those they desire to 'help', othering them in some ways. Relatedly, Epprecht (2004), Heron (2007) and

Zemach-Bersin (2007) raise concerns based on their research on international volunteering, suggesting that volunteers frequently focus on difference rather than similarities across cultures. Such 'othering' ideas are demonstrated in Lydia's quote,

> "We're not getting anything out in return materially, we're paying to go and do this. I think to teach them about our culture and how different it is. And how different the legal system is, how different our social standards are, the gap between genders is really narrow, or narrowing, but out there, some of the stories they've told us it seems quite old fashioned compared to us, like the male dominance over females which obviously is culturally acceptable to them so its fine, but just to make them aware its not like that everywhere in the world. Not to like push it on to them and say they have to change. To serve, help them, and teach them, like English as well, health care, just to help out I think. To make a difference in the world, to make an impact, do something to impact other peoples lives in a great way". (Lydia, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

Lydia reveals a superiority or paternalistic mindset in her intentions about the upcoming placement where she believes she can make an 'impact in people's lives in a great way'. This impact comes in the form of what she can teach about society in the UK, thereby revealing an implicit belief that the UK is socially and culturally superior in their social standards such as gender roles, reflecting the concerns of Raymond and Hall (2008). The 'other' in Tanzania is then positioned as available to be altered, saved and improved. Lydia however, does also display the knowledge that cultures are different and she is not there to push her culture on those she meets. This demonstrates how the aforementioned power/ superiority criticisms may not be explicitly present in the thoughts and intentions of the volunteers, in fact many would likely push back against these ideas. However, these power relations must be considered by volunteer recruitment organisations in preparing their volunteers for their time overseas, to ensure volunteers do not assume a superior mindset that they are able to help, despite their lack of development or ministry training.

These helping narratives need to be situated in the wider emergence of celebrity development, where development has been made 'sexy' (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008) by celebrities such as Angelina Jolie and Madonna. The use of celebrities in charity and fundraising work has recently received considerable pushbacks. Comic Relief, for instance, fell under scrutiny after one their videos, with celebrity singer, Ed Sheeran being accused of promoting poverty tourism (BBC News, 2017). Ed Sheeran received a 'Rusty Radiator award' from the campaign group Radi-Aid as it was considered the most offensive and stereotypical video of the year. Celebrity appeals such as these depoliticise development and promote the idea that simple fixes, such as more health clinics, are sufficient in tackling global inequality and poverty (Kapoor, 2013). Within this, a lack of understanding and appreciation of the need for deeper commitment to social justice and long-term development plans are often absent

Whilst intentions to help are common, understandable and kind, often coming from well-intentioned individuals, they reveal how volunteering practices can often focus on the experience of the volunteer and their ability to help, to the detriment of challenging injustices. Such critiques of volunteering intentions are widely spoken of in public discussions of volunteering, with phrases such as 'voluntourist' and 'poverty tourist' becoming well known. Volunteering practices have been satirised and critiqued by many, particularly through social media platforms such as the 'Saviour Barbie' Instagram account and the popular 2008 'Gap Yah' YouTube video where a young, white, middle class male parodies the experiences of young people abroad. Some of the volunteers were aware of such criticisms when deciding to volunteer themselves. Chris for instance states,

> "It's all very well for people at home looking down upon us and saying you're a voluntourist. You're a poverty tourist. You're doing it for self-satisfaction. You're doing it to make yourself feel good. Or less guilty. I think one can only answer those questions themselves. You have to self-examine. I wouldn't say that any of us are poverty tourists. We haven't come to Africa purposefully to see poor people. We've come to help and we've come to potentially make a change. We're giving them facilities such as fresh water, water tanks. We're giving them basic education. We're giving them a means of income by goats and that sort of thing, and milk. Potentially the volunteer gains more than the local, but to say that the local or the countryman that you're visiting gains nothing at all I would question". (Chris, volunteer, in-country interview)

Chris feels unhappy that he may be thought of as self-seeking in his desire to volunteer internationally, pushing back against the labels of voluntourist or poverty tourist. For Chris, the volunteering trip is not a way for him to come and witness poverty, rather he hopes he can make a change to these people's situations. Yet, Chris positions himself and other volunteers as the expert, giver and saviour of those in Tanzania when he describes the charitable activities the voluntary organisation organises. In this, those in Tanzania are pictured as passive receivers. Such ideas displays paternalistic, superiority tendencies. However, this extract also reveals how many individuals are genuinely seeking to help those they consider in need. Thus, whilst criticisms of volunteering have validity, they need to be held in balance with the knowledge that volunteers believe they are displaying care and love and are genuinely seeking to make the world a better place. Chris' quote also displays how volunteers do not see themselves as involved in the systems and structures of inequality and see themselves as actively pursuing projects and models of social justice and social change. Emphasis therefore falls on the volunteering recruitment agencies to take this love and care and show how it can be filtered into the challenging of injustices, as opposed to solely focussing on charitable actions that do little to change overall long-term situations.

### 5.3.2: Attraction to Africa

In some instances, the appeal of specifically Africa was a motivation to volunteer, where the desire to visit Africa had existed for a long time (see also Tiessen, 2018). Similar to the helping narratives above, this attraction was often abstract, with no specific mentions made to what was attractive about visiting Africa. Consider the below statements,

> "I just really wanted to go to Africa" (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "There's something special about Africa" (Annie, past volunteer)

> "Africa, I think it will be, definitely be different, I'm thinking it will be quite colourful. I think I'm expecting that everyone will be really friendly" (Chloe, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

> "Going to Africa, even when I was really young I talked about wanting to do it. I don't know where I got that idea from". (Danielle, past volunteer)

Such comments need to be located in the volunteering sector, with the rise in 'voluntourism' (Vrasti, 2012), where individuals seek adventure in new, exotic places (Sin, 2009). For Phoebe, Annie, Chloe and Danielle, Africa was seen as special and exotic, where a desire to visit the continent had existed for a long time. Through Chloe's quote, we see a hint at the attraction of novelty (Crompton, 1979), where she feels drawn to Africa because of its difference to the UK. For Chloe, Africa was a place of difference to satisfy the boredom or sameness she experienced at home. Yet, in line with the work of Baillie-Smith et al (2013), the volunteers commonly had little knowledge of the countries they intended on visiting, nor their histories. Whilst volunteers could often not explain why it was that Africa was special or attractive, it is likely that their experiences of the continent via media and stories from others who have travelled to the continent created interest and intrigue.

The desire to travel and explore as rationales for participating in volunteer programmes has received mixed reports in volunteer research. For some, like Tiessen (2018), their research found that travel and adventure formed a significant rationale for participation, a motivation that often clashed with motivations of hosts. For others however, like Brown (2005) these desires to travel are less prominent. Whilst the volunteers did not explicitly use the words travel or adventure, the desire to visit Africa is likely to imply these motivations. This research thus supports that of Tiessen (2018) showing that whilst travel and adventure might not be the principle motivation of volunteers, it still plays a part. Volunteers here seek authentic experiences of places, as opposed to the surface level experience they may get through general tourism. Volunteering offers the opportunity to build relationships and explore a closer encounter with everyday life in Tanzania; such an experience would not be gained if one simply toured the country and visited the tourist hot spots.

This desire to visit Africa also needs to be balanced with other motivations. It is likely the continent was picked as it was seen as a destination to apply these other motivations. For instance, those who were motivated by personal faith growth may have been attracted to the growing church in certain countries in Africa. Alternatively, those motivated by helping may have acknowledged the relative levels of poverty in Africa in comparison to other continents. Lydia for instance states,

> "In Africa there can be a lot of poverty and obviously people can be quite vulnerable and where we're going that will obviously be the case, there will be vulnerable people and I'm sure a lot of them don't have any money. Yeah quite like the idea of going somewhere like that where they have that sort of situation where I can help and put in to perspective how much I take for granted and what I have that they don't and how they can be so, thankful and be so happy with the things they have. I guess that could be in other places but for me, Africa was just the one." (Lydia, volunteer, pre-departure interview)

Lydia desires to travel to an area with high levels of poverty and vulnerability leading her to state "Africa was just the one". Here she will be able to enjoy the experience of helping those in need and grow personally, as she becomes more grateful for what she has. Here poverty is used to make herself feel better and allow her to become a 'helper'. Poverty then is not something to be challenged, but something to be consumed for one's own personal enjoyment benefit. Lydia is unaware about the diversity of life in Africa, where the whole of the African continent is perceived to be poor and vulnerable, without the existence of wealth. Africa then is an ideal location to appreciate one's own wealth and help others.

Overall, the various physical features of Africa became an arena where an individual's mixture of motivations could be satisfied (see also Wearing, 2004). That being said, there does appear to be an

almost mysticism around Africa, where some volunteers feel drawn to the continent without being able to provide an explanation or coherent reason for this motivation. Such vague attractiveness to Africa seems to reflect a secular 'having a heart for' narrative that was explored in the previous section of this thesis.

### 5.3.3: Development learning

As well as hoping to input into the communities through helping and serving, a few volunteers were also eager to learn (see also Benson, 2004; Tiessen, 2018), however this was not common. This learning and understanding was perhaps not such a strong motivator for these volunteers due to the nature of the volunteering recruitment organisations and their projects. Whilst development-learning elements were a part of the placements, the foregrounded activities were often religiosity oriented or concerned with building relationships. As such, these placements were less likely to attract those who were motivated to learn about development, justice and poverty. Nevertheless, some individuals were motivated to learn and it was anticipated that this would equip the volunteers to return home and become active in poverty reduction and development activities. Lydia, Karen and Kathryn for instance comment,

> "What I'm hoping is that it'll equip me with knowledge to best deal with poverty and injustice and stuff like that at home. There's no point going out there and doing all these wonderful things and then coming home and sinking into the same person I was. I really hope that it will, give me a passion and drive and knowledge to face the injustices that are at home, and there are many". (Lydia, past volunteer)

> "So I had an interest in Africa and what was happening. I've always had a heart for Africa. I wanted to know the real story than just videos of people dying. Like I'd seen videos, red nose videos of children dying and that kind of thing. There was a distance there and I didn't really understand the extent of poverty and how it happens". (Karen, past volunteer)

> "I think I wanted to experience another country, possibly help out, a third world country. I did want to go and help, but also just to experience what life was like for them" (Kathryn, past volunteer)

Karen and Lydia were the only volunteers who used development-learning narratives in their motivations to volunteer, with Lydia revealing a desire to learn about poverty and development to inform her actions when returning home. Karen speaks of not fully understanding the root causes of global poverty, nor the extent of it. As such, she seeks out an international volunteer trip in the hope she will become more informed on these issues. Lydia hopes that the placement will bring change in her life, giving her a passion to tackle injustices. She acknowledges that various injustices exist in her home country, feeling that she needs to travel abroad to learn about these injustices. However, she does not mention learning about the injustices of the country she is travelling to, nor about becoming active in tackling those once returning home. It is interesting then that she chooses a foreign country to learn about the injustices in her home country, rather than volunteering domestically. This could perhaps be attributed to other motivations being present, such as the desire to experience a new culture, or perhaps also reflects how international volunteering schemes are so widespread that they are crowding out the less 'sexy', (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008) domestic volunteering organisations.

Kathryn and Karen display a desire to learn about the lives of those in the countries they will visit and Karen in particular voices a mistrust of the messages and representations of Africa here in UK, wishing to learn about the 'real story'. Kathryn goes beyond simply seeing the lives of those in the community she visits; she wants to experience it as well. In this, we can see why Kathryn chose to volunteer as opposed to simply visiting the community. For Kathryn, volunteering allowed an embodied experience that would be more similar to the lives of those in the community (see also Rehberg, 2005). Overall, these quotes demonstrate how experiencing the unknown or something new and different to their own culture was attractive to volunteers, where they felt they would gain a deeper understanding and experience of poverty and injustice.

Whilst learning narratives could be critiqued as treating 'developing' countries as global learning playgrounds (Baillie-Smith and Laurie, 2011), such a motivation displays a sense of humility, with volunteers not assuming they could automatically help those living in poverty, despite little understanding of the complexity of development and having had little training or experience themselves. Rather, for these volunteers, it was essential to learn about these issues to a greater degree first. Such a motivation is likely to educate volunteers on the necessity of long-term solutions to complex problems, and help foster a critical global citizenship, which challenges injustices, rather than softer forms of global citizenship that emphasise the agency of the volunteer and focus on poverty and helplessness. Through learning, volunteers are able to understand the lives of others and acquire the tools needed for long-term sustainable development and structural change, rather than spending three months helping in small ways, that can bring benefits to certain individuals, but does little to address the causes of global poverty and inequality.

Learning before helping, this thesis argues, should be emphasised and encouraged by volunteering recruitment organisations to ensure volunteers become informed and active on development issues in ways that do not just focus on short-term gains. Without such an approach, it is likely development work could be perceived as easy and simple, where anyone, despite a lack of training, can come and 'do development'. Further, what seemed to be absent in these learning narratives was a desire to learn *from* those the volunteers would meet in Tanzania, rather they were eager to learn *about* them. This could reveal an unspoken superiority mind-set, where volunteers place themselves above those they are going to meet. Such a mind-set is particularly damaging for international relationships of respect and equality. Thus, it is necessary for volunteers to foster humility and be prepared to learn *from* and *with* those they are seeking to help rather than simply learning *about* them. Such an approach will allow deeper and more respectful relationships to be formed between volunteers and host organisations.

### 5.3.4: Personal Professional Development

Recent discussions on volunteer motivations allude to the 'professionalization' of volunteer placements, where the potential of gaining valuable work experience for career advancement influences the decision to volunteer internationally (Jones, 2011; Simpson, 2004; Galley and Clifton, 2004). This research however, found that this was not common, reflecting the findings of Hopkins et al (2015) who find a variety of religious motivations, yet no narratives of CV building or the enhancement of professional capabilities. In this research, only Victoria spoke about the volunteer placement as way to inform her future career choices. She says,

> "So I wasn't ready to straight away go to uni. I thought if I took a year out I could think about it and decide if that's what I want to do because I didn't want to straight away go" (Victoria, volunteer, pre-placement interview)

Volunteering here was a way for Victoria to invest in her future and help her decide what she wanted to do after finishing her studies. The time away from education meant she had time to consider her next steps in life, could gain valuable work experience and see more of the world. Karen's motivation was similar, where she wanted to move away from home and her family, becoming more independent. She says,

> "I thought it will be good for me before uni to get the experience of moving away from home and not relying on my family." (Karen, past volunteer)

For Karen, volunteering was a way she could become more mature in her transition from teenager to adult (see also Hopkins et al, 2015). Although such professional or personal maturation comments were few in the interview material, it seems that for some, Christian international volunteering becomes an avenue one can enhance their career prospects, escape from home life and develop a sense of independence.

## 5.4: Concluding Statements

In this chapter, we have seen the multiple and diverging motivations that influence an individual to volunteer internationally, thereby unpacking the first research objective of this thesis: to understand the rationale behind participation in Christian overseas volunteer programmes. Religious motivations were dominant, perhaps unsurprisingly given that many of the programmes are religiously oriented. Volunteers are motivated by enhancing their relationship with God, feel called, want to experience life as a missionary and are eager to serve others and God. Overall, we can see a mix of genuine altruism and self-interested motivations, which has commonly be observed elsewhere in volunteering research (Pearce, 1983; Chambre, 1987; Wilson, 2012; Okabe et al, 2019; Burns et al 2006, Broad and Jenkins 2008; Campbell and Smith 2005; Chen and Chen 2010; Wearing 2001, 2004; Hustinx, 2001; Brooks, 2002; Yeung, 2004). Religious praxis and philanthropic concerns motivated the volunteers, where a particular kind of religious altruism was demonstrated with the volunteers motivated through religious calls to care for the poor and display God's love to others. Such helping narratives show how there are many individuals eager to make the world a better place, yet challenges around privilege and power inequalities continue. Here we can locate spiritual and religious capital in international volunteering. For some volunteers, the volunteering trip is a way they can invest in their own spiritual capital and mature as an adult Christian, whereas for others, their time volunteering is more about what they can give to others or how they can use their religious capital and contribute to society. Overall, it is clear that the relationship with an individual's faith and desire to volunteer is complex, with various elements of one's religious identity instilling a desire to volunteer.

The findings here contribute to existing scholarship on geographies of youth citizenship, with parallels to programmes such as NCS and the Scout Movement, where citizenship development is positioned as the main goal (Mills, 2013, Mills and Waite (2018). This study reveals how similar motivations for, and expectations of, citizenship development can be found in Christian international volunteering. In this case, the 'ideal' citizen here is positioned as someone with a mature and deep relationship with

God, a desire to serve God by helping those in need and gaining experience of mission, evangelism and encountering another culture. Faith and ideas of good citizenship and intertwined for these young people and the desire for a religious citizenship development is central to the volunteer experience. Here the Christian international volunteer programmes differ from secular programmes, such as the NCS or the Scout Movement, where the ideal citizen produced by these programmes differs from the transformation these young people desire to go through.

The multiple and complex religious motivations are further muddied by the presence of non-religious rationales for volunteering. These non-religious motivations were often used in conjunction with religious motivations, however for some they were prevailing. In line with previous research, altruistic tendencies and the desire to help others was common among volunteers (Wearing, 2001; Rehberg, 2005). Individuals seek to show care and love through volunteering internationally, yet there is a danger this could equate to softer forms of global citizenship that emphasise the actions and feelings of the volunteer and inadvertently perpetuate global poverty. Such caring tendencies need to also be funnelled into critical forms of citizenship that resist and challenge the root causes of poverty. An attraction to Africa was also voiced by volunteers, despite many having little knowledge of the continent nor its history. Africa becomes a destination individuals can act out their other motivations, such as helping others or growing in one's faith. A handful of individuals were motivated to learn about poverty, justice and development. This thesis commends such a motivation, suggesting that it is essential for volunteers to learn before they can help, to ensure they have a richer understanding of the complexity of development. Learning *from* and *with* those they meet whilst volunteering, as opposed to simply learning *about* them should be encouraged. Contrary to previous research attesting to the professionalization of international volunteering (Jones, 2011, Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Baillie-Smith et al, 2013; Noxolo, 2011), very few participants spoke about investing in their future career through volunteering.

The following chapter in this thesis builds on these discussions by considering the rationales for participation in Christian international volunteering programmes from the perspectives of the host organisations and sending organisations.

# 6. Motivations and Expectations for Christian International Volunteer Programmes: Unpacking Host Organisation and Sending Organisation Rationales

## 6.0: Introduction

Volunteer research has frequently investigated the motivations of the volunteers themselves when choosing to volunteer internationally, as in the previous chapter. However, the motivations of host organisations and sending organisations receives far less attention. Indeed, previous research on volunteer motivation has called for a move away from examining the motivations of just the volunteers, arguing for an increased focus on the host organisations (Grimm and Needham, 2012), to build on the small yet emerging body of work on host motivations (Tiessen, 2018; Crabtree, 2008; Grusky, 2000; Ogden, 2008). To date, the most comprehensive study of host organisation motivations has been conducted by Rebecca Tiessen. Tiessen (2018), using a postcolonial lens, explores the rationales and expectations of host organisations when choosing to participate in voluntary schemes. Tiessen (2018) investigates particularly ideas of privilege and power, exploring the extent to which North–South volunteering perpetuates and/or ameliorates existing inequalities and builds long-term relationships and support.

This chapter thus builds on both this existing research, and the previous chapter of this thesis, by exploring the rationales for participation in volunteer programmes from the perspectives of the host organisations and sending organisations. Through considering these additional perspectives, we are able to understand whether and how the motivations and expectations of volunteers, host organisations and sending organisations align. Understanding the motivations of host organisation in particular is crucial if we are to ensure volunteer programmes are appropriate and beneficial for the communities they travel to. This also enables a fuller understanding of the first research aim of this thesis: to understand the rationale for participation in Christian international volunteer programmes. Following this, the chapter will give an overview of the pre-departure materials distributed by Amare. This will frame the following chapters by showing how Amare prepare their volunteers for their time overseas.

## 6.1: Host and Sending Organisation Rationale

Tiessen's (2018) research on rationale for participation in voluntary programmes highlights challenges in these programmes, yet also seems to affirm the importance and necessity of international volunteering for achieving social change today (Chen, 2019). Despite limitations, host organisations are continuing to participate in volunteer programmes. It is thus important to give voice to their perspectives on the value of these programmes. Tiessen's (2018) research focusses on programmes that are undertaken for specifically development learning means, where the participants are mostly non-religious. My research builds on this important and pioneering work in considering the perspectives of Christian host organisations. Volunteer motivation research also lacks information on why faith-based sending organisations participate in voluntary programmes. As such, the perspectives of these sending organisations will also be considered. Investigating the perspectives of volunteers, hosts and sending organisations will help understand some of the overlapping and distinct motivations

for participation in volunteering programmes. Such understanding is crucial to ensure international volunteering can be an important role in fostering global solidarity and achieving development goals.

Seeking the perspectives of host organisations is particularly valuable in nuancing understandings of international volunteering from various perspectives. These motivations will shape the outcome and activities of the volunteer placement and the motivations of the host organisation will reveal crucial information for understanding the effectiveness and impact of volunteer placements. If the motivations of the host organisation are better understood, we can ensure the volunteer placements are best suited to meet the needs of those organisations. Such an approach also goes some way in mirroring decolonizing efforts in international development research. Heron (2015) writes

> "it is our responsibility to not impose these frames of interpretation [post-colonialism] on peoples in the global South, but to recognise that alternative views are operating" (Heron, 2015, 90)

In this, it is imperative that research analysis does not favour the critiques of volunteers and sending organisations, failing to account for the voices of those who receive volunteers. Doing so would reproduce colonial tendencies by privileging certain 'western' positions over another. As such, this thesis seeks to present the voices of those who receive volunteers and understand their experiences and motivations. Previous literature has pointed to the limited, or even questionable, impact volunteers have on the countries they visit (Palacios, 2010; Baillie-Smith and Laurie, 2011; Sin, 2009; Simpson, 2004; Ansell, 2008). Yet, volunteering placements continue. Such critical analyses need to be balanced with the knowledge that host organisations have chosen to participate in volunteer programmes. What then are the perspectives of the host organisations? Why do they continue to receive volunteers? Does this motivation match the sending organisation and the volunteers themselves? Understanding this information will ensure volunteer placements positively affect those they are seeking to help. As such, the proceeding section of this chapter turns to consider the motivations of both the sending organisations and the host organisations concerning the volunteer placements.

Within this section, my positionality needs to be taken into account, as well as the culture of Tanzania, where honour and shame plays a key role in their relationships. Here I refer to a quote from James, a missionary living in Tanzania. He states,

> "People want money. But they would never say that out loud and would never say it on a recording, just because of honour and shame dynamics. They wouldn't want to embarrass you or make you feel uncomfortable so they wouldn't say that out loud, but I've certainly had it expressed to me. (James, missionary, Tanzania)

Although this quote refers to asking for money from volunteers, James reveals how Tanzania has a culture where honour and shame are highly valued. In this, guests are treated very well and during interviews, the staff from Sollus could have been afraid of offending me when I asked about the challenges of hosting volunteers. However, some challenges were alluded to, which are discussed in later chapters. Further, because I was a representative of Amare, it is likely they wanted to show the benefits of hosting volunteers. Whilst I do not think the responses of the host organisations should be written off due to this positionality, they should be read with this in mind.

## 6.2: Beyond the Religious

Whilst the volunteers' principle motivations for volunteering centred on faith, religion and spirituality, this was not the case for the host organisations. For the host organisations, the most frequently mentioned motivations were non-religious. These included financial contributions, skills development, exposure to community development projects, organisational credibility, building relationships, helping hands and cross-cultural experiences. This chapter now turns to unpack these motivations.

### 6.2.1: Funding and Financial Support

One of the main non-religious motivation for hosting volunteers revolved around funding and financial support. Whilst previous research has touched on how hosting volunteers may be considered valuable due to the potential for resource acquisition, this is generally significantly overshadowed by other motivations (Tiessen, 2018). However, in this dataset, statements showing a desire for monetary support were often made. Consider the below statements,

> "Volunteers, they have cash money. They are people committed to work with needy people in the village. Wherever there is any need of financial support in the community, the volunteer just provide direct. If there is a certain disease like Cholera, they have cash money to save peoples lives. Women who die during delivery of a baby because of the great distance between home and the health centre. The volunteers have cash money, they can build clinics and save lives. They are close to the community and the support community needs effectively. The government are people of promise, with no delivery. We buy medicine immediately, they make sure each month the children are de-wormed, each month the mobile clinic see's women and babies in remote villages. They buy mosquito nets and have cash money to check for malaria" (Chica, host organisation, Tanzania)

> "They [the volunteers] do fundraising in the UK from churches, from individuals, from charities that support our work here (Angel, Sollus)"

> "I believe this volunteer team contributed a lot to the fundraising team because they can tell exactly what they saw from the grassroots when they go home. Okay we saw something from the school, especially the dormitory. They initiate a small amount of funds (Nathaniel, Sollus)"

For Chica, Angel and Nathaniel, volunteers were important for their work as they were often able to arrange funds on their return home. Nathaniel recounts a story of volunteers who had visited a local school and seen the need for a new dormitory. When these volunteers returned home, they were able to raise funds to support the building of a new dormitory. Such funds are crucial to the community development work of Sollus where government funding and funds from local people are often lacking. Chica compares the volunteers with government workers in Tanzania. Here he notes a gap in services that the government is able to offer people in Tanzania. Volunteers are able to fill this gap by quickly providing money to purchase de-worming tablets, mosquito nets and initiate the building of new clinics and providing funds for staff to work in these clinics. For Chica, volunteers are able to save lives by providing finances to support specific needs. It should be noted that Chica represented a different volunteering host organisation in Tanzania. Thus, this organisation could have different priorities than Sollus or Amare. Nevertheless, his response reveals the important role volunteers can play in financing projects overseas.

The benefits of volunteering for fundraising and support beyond the volunteer placement is also recognised by the volunteers. Laura comments,

> "Sending a team over might well generate cash that might not otherwise be generated to the project. Longer term, if people are really touched by their experience overseas they become lifelong ambassadors for those projects and that country. Like I really felt that with Zambia, actually I think for the rest of my life I will have soft spot to Zambia, I will want to donate to it, and to the organisations I was working with out there. I wouldn't have that connection if I didn't go and volunteer there". (Laura, past volunteer)

Laura describes how a long-term relationship has been started between herself and those she met in Zambia. Criticisms of international volunteering in the global Christian community have suggested that the money used to finance the volunteer's placements could have been better spent if they had been used to support projects in the host country. Yet Laura's quote reveals how, for the rest of her life, she is now inspired to donate to those projects. She also describes how she is an ambassador for these projects where it is possible she will speak to others about these projects, possibly initiating further financial support for their projects. Such a response may not be present among all volunteers, however host organisations and past volunteers attest to this continued financial support, using it as a rationale for their ongoing participation in volunteering programmes.

This financial support rationale reveals various structural inequalities, where the benefits of hosting volunteers is centred on achieving finances to fund their community development projects. Volunteers play a crucial role in the continued funding of the host organisation that brings unequal power relations to their encounters. Further, volunteers could be perceived as holding the agency and power to influence the funding delivered by Amare. As such, they may feel pressure to ensure these volunteers have a positive experience whilst volunteering, to secure this future support. Yet, Tiessen (2018) found that although host organisations recognise some challenges of hosting volunteers, they do not see themselves as victims of neo-colonialism and unequal power structures. This was also replicated in my research, were host organisations did not refer to such issues, but that does not mean they were not present.

Further, many staff members from Sollus noted financial support was not the principal or sole reason they hosted volunteers. Rather there was a mix of other motivations. Paul for instance comments,

> "Yes we need your money, and you know that coming is much better. Not only the money but the services and skills which might be more important. The contribution of that person that they're making that person. The developing of that person I think is more important". (Paul, Sollus)

Paul shows that whilst financial support is important to Sollus, they also value other things volunteers can bring whilst visiting their projects, perhaps even more than the financial contribution. Here he refers, albeit abstractly, to the services and skills the volunteers can contribute whilst in the country. Paul also points to how they desire to invest in the volunteers themselves, caring about their personal development during their time volunteering.

### 6.2.2: Exposure to Development Work

Another key motivation mentioned by Sollus, which resonates with the preceding motivation, was exposing the volunteer to their community development work. Such motivations often revealed a desire to ensure transparency and credibility for overseas donors who may not understand the

community development work their money was funding. Volunteers were seen as a connection between Sollus and their funders, ensuring these funders could see and understand how their money was being used. Consider the following statements from George and Angel.

> "It is not easy for people that support us to understand the work we do in this country. We are transforming communities, but the people in the UK who support our work never get to understand their support. Not everyone has the opportunity of coming here, but when the volunteers come and they are hearing testimonies of how we have helped people, they can go home and tell the supporters there is reason to support us, they can tell others too" (George, Sollus)

> "One of them is because we receive donors from people outside, so sometimes having them here they witness if what we receive really works in the community. Sometimes you see things in your eyes or hearing stories we write and send to Amare with pictures. You coming here is a good thing, you get a clear picture of what is happening". (Angel, Sollus)

For George and Angel, it is important the volunteers see the development projects Sollus are bringing to the local community. George and Angel speak of how volunteers can be intermediaries between the work they do in Tanzania and those in the UK. In this, volunteers are able to go home and give testimonies to the work they have seen, giving credibility to Sollus. Here, we can see how volunteering can be a way Sollus can build their religious capital. In this, the networks they build through association with the volunteers may improve their credibility, visibility and reputation, thus ensuring future funding and support (see also Narayan, 1999; Woolcock, 1998). Structural inequalities are evident here, where hosting volunteers becomes a way that hosts can prove their legitimacy to those who fund their work. Sollus reveal a dependency, on both Amare and other volunteers, where future funding may depend on good relationships with the volunteers and their experience when visiting their projects in Tanzania.

Amare and other sending organisations also used exposure to development work as a rationale for their participation in volunteering programmes. This, it was thought, was a good way to educate the volunteers on the necessity of development, to ensure the volunteers were humbled and learnt to respect those in partnering countries and to allow the volunteers to encounter first hand, the material poverty and injustices prevalent host communities. Consider the following statements of Emma, Rosa and Corrie,

> "Learning is the biggest priority. Don't say I'm going to go help someone and save the world. I would say firstly learning from the global church, and secondly learning with the people. Only thirdly doing things for people. But that's really down at the bottom so far as we're concerned. We don't think we have a lot to give". (Corrie, FBO)

> "I think we can hear a lot about poverty and we can watch films and read loads about it. But until you actually see something for yourself... Until you go and live with or eat with those people and then you leave and go home and you start thinking, I wonder what they're going home to. I wonder what their future is going to be like. Where are they going to live? That's when you have a catalyst for real change. I think there's a shift in your heart and your mind and the way you're thinking that you don't get when you read or hear and you move on.". (Fiona, FBO)

> "Meeting the people and putting a face and name and hearing about their situations, it makes poverty more real to you. I think sometimes you can hear these stats of people

> and go aw that's really sad and move on. When you've got a personal story to match the facts about poverty I think it impacts you more". (Helen, FBO)

Corrie emphasises the importance of a learning attitude. For her FBO, learning is the top priory, where they do not want volunteers motivated to save the world, rather they desire volunteers who are ready to learn from those they meet in-country. For Fiona, volunteering overseas was a way poverty and injustice could be made more real and immediate. After these encounters with poverty, volunteers would return home and begin wondering what their friends were having for dinner, or what the future held for them. Fiona believed this would bring change in the volunteers' hearts and lives, due to the immediacy experienced whilst volunteering. Such ideas were mirrored by Helen, who comments that hearing stories or statistics of poverty can instil sadness for a short period, yet in the flesh encounters with individuals living in poverty can have a longer-term effect on the volunteer. Through such quotes, we can see that for many FBOs, learning is a central element and goal of volunteer programmes.

This goal of learning has been previously critiqued, with Baillie-Smith and Laurie (2011) insinuating that 'developing' countries are being treated as a global learning playground to awaken volunteers passion for social justice, for them to return home and become active in their local communities, scarcely remembering those they met whilst overseas. Whilst this criticism does have validity, we can see that host organisations also believe in the benefit volunteer programmes can have in educating the volunteers about their development projects, as this could ensure future funding and support. Despite a lack of research showing long-term support of host countries once these volunteer have returned home, Sollus attest that hosting volunteers has opened avenues for future work in their projects. Again, this position could also be criticised as it reveals dependency and power imbalances, but this does not mean it should be discounted.

### 6.2.3: Relationships

Throughout the interview material, the motivation of building relationship and achieving global solidarity was seen across both host organisations and sending organisations. This motivation stood out as different to the volunteers who seemed more motivated by helping others and developing personally. Of course, it's likely that meeting people was a crucial part of helping people, but these helping narratives commonly came before simply meeting those in their host country. The importance of building relationships was evident in the host organisations interviews and whilst this was not a key rationale for volunteers, future chapters will show how this develops during the volunteer programme. For Sollus, this emphasis on relationships is perhaps not surprising, as Tanzania is widely known to place a high value on hospitality and welcoming guests. Mposi and Joseph comment,

> "I like team work, and I'm very happy if I work with the team of volunteers. Because first of all I am meeting many friends" (Mposi, Sollus)

> "Because having you around, we have created something like a relationship, friendship, we are now family". (Joseph, Sollus)

Mposi and Joseph speak about building relationships with the volunteers that they meet, with Joseph even suggesting that the volunteers feel like family through their ongoing interactions. Here there seemed a genuine desire to get to know people and have rich and deep cross-cultural experiences. This was also reflected in Tiessen's (2018) research, where testimonies from host organisations revealed they were less concerned with the skills the individual volunteers could bring, but were more interested in getting to know the individual volunteers and building relationships across cultures. For the sending organisations, these relationships had importance beyond the relationships themselves.

Relationships were positioned as a tool to humanising development work. Fiona and Georgia for instance comment,

> "You get alongside them and build that relationship where you wouldn't have that if you read a book about it or if you watched a film about poverty or developing countries. You wouldn't have that same relationship". (Fiona, FBO)

> "That feeling of being able to build a relationship across cultural divides I think is just so healing for both sides. It might be the hardest thing this person has ever done, trying to spend time with someone who is their peer in a different culture and trying to learn to like them, even though a lot of their behaviours would be really different. Trying to learn why they behave so differently. For some its really easy and on the surface they are like oh I love Ghanaian culture or something because its so warm and friendly. But any time you go deeper and go for longer there will be those challenges of how the cultures are different. But I think overcoming that divide is so beautiful and really humbling for both parties. To realise their worldview is not the right one, its one of many". (Georgia, FBO)

Here we can see how Fiona believes relationships make development work more real and immediate. Whilst it is possible to watch films about life in a 'developing country' or engage in learning and debating on issues of poverty and development, you would not get to know a person living in that situation personally. For Fiona, this is essential and can allow for a more personal understanding of poverty. Encounters, such as those had whilst volunteering, have been noted elsewhere as having the potential to produce an unsettling affective experience of empathy, that can in turn, generate personal and social change (Pedwell, 2012). For Georgia, relationships have power in subverting cultural biases. In this, living in close proximity with someone who holds different cultural viewpoints and different daily practices can be challenging, but potentially transformative as individuals come to realise their worldviews are not superior.

Such ideas resonate with the work of Allport (1954) who developed the idea of a 'contact hypothesis'. In this, he argued that bringing different groups of people together could diminish prejudice and endorse social interactions. This contact would decrease feeling of discomfort and anxiety with the unknown as one develops a knowledge about, and familiarity with, those considered 'other'. Yet, the transformative potential of these relationships or encounters have been questioned elsewhere. Valentine (2008) for instance, comments that proximity does not always equate with meaningful contact or cultural destabilization. In her research, Valentine (2008) finds that whilst people often act with kindness and courtesy towards those considered other, this kindness is not the same as respect for difference. However, sending organisations seem to place significant emphasis of the transformative potential of these relationships and encounters, an issue that is drawn upon in later chapters of this thesis.

Host organisations often hope for long-term support and lasting relationships after the volunteers return home. Judging whether this long-term support and communication continues beyond the volunteer placement is difficult to measure however, with few studies investigating this long-term engagement between hosts and volunteers. Whilst previous research attests to volunteers becoming engaged in development and social justice issues in their home country (Clark and Lewis, 2017), there is little evidence showing long-term commitments abroad. This is not to suggest it is absent, but under-researched. Indeed a few past volunteers from this study demonstrated ongoing relationships with their hosts, up to seven years following their placement. For instance, Nick and Harriet comment,

> "We've been emailing and stuff. So yeah I'm in touch, I have rang to see how she's doing" (Nick, past volunteer)

> "I had made a contact with a lady called Doreen who I kept in contact with this end and ended up sponsoring her younger sister through fundraising to go to school, and so, kind of long term effect is that I am volunteering this end in terms of every year raising her school fees. I think what's interesting is that my trip was still short term, but the impact of a longer term connection, so as in seven years, is that, something becomes more sustainable. Its not a one of thing, it's a sustainable thing that has a long term relationship attached to it" (Harriet, past volunteer)

Nick and Harriet reveal how long term connections beyond the volunteer's placement are not uncommon. With ever improving means of communication, it is likely that such ongoing relationships could become more common, with the potential for ongoing support of development projects. Monitoring this long-term commitment to relationship building was considered beyond the scope of this thesis, yet future research may wish to investigate the significance of these ongoing relationships for both the volunteers and host organisations.

### 6.2.4: Cross-Cultural Experience

The potential for immersive cross-cultural experiences was also a key motivation for both sending organisations and host organisations. Such cross-cultural experiences were viewed to have transformative potential, where time spent in a 'developing country' could alter a volunteers pre-conceived ideas of what the host countries are like (see also Tiessen, 2018). Selas for instance comments

> "There are many things that you still appreciate about here and about other countries. understanding people from where they come from. So that today if you went back to the UK and you saw someone from Tanzania you will have a connection. You understand where they comes from. You understand the context here, but then if you had not gotten this experience you would just have an assumption, like the way we make assumptions here. Not knowing that it is coming from a totally different background." (Selas, Sollus)

Selas comments that through volunteering in Tanzania, the volunteers are more likely to understand Tanzanian people and challenge any assumptions they may have previously held. Volunteer placements are seen as a means to dispel myths and cause the volunteers to appreciate more fully what life in a different country is like. Thus, when the volunteer returns home, they are able to present a more accurate picture of what these countries are like and causing stereotypes to slowly change. Solidarity oriented goals can be seen here, where hosts are hoping volunteers stereotypes will be broken down and they will come to respect their organisations and their country, rather than projecting paternalistic images of needing the help and pity of foreigners.

Previous research has also attested to the desire of host organisations to have cross-cultural engagements (Tiessen, 2018; Lough, 2011; Barnhart, 2012; Tiessen and Heron, 2012). Crabtree (1998) reveals on oversight in research investigating the significance of cross-cultural relationships in international volunteering. This research often focussed on the potential volunteering had in equipping the volunteering with cross-cultural competencies and global citizenships. Yet the potential the volunteer programmes had in bringing cross-cultural relationships for the host organisations receives significantly less attention. For Crabtree (1998) mutual empowerment is possible. According to Lough et al (2011), the host organisation in their study registered higher cultural awareness due to

shared activities with volunteers such as preparing meals, dancing and sharing music. This was highly valued as it allowed them to develop a greater understanding of 'developed' countries and brought new insights and perspectives. Such mutual awareness can be seen in the following ethnographic observation

> "Today we were shelling beans at the training centre with our translators and members of staff from the training centre. Leah, our translator asked us if our parents would allow us to marry a black man. We said of course, but she didn't believe us. They spoke about how we must go around all day calling people from Africa 'black people' and not being friends or allowed to marry. One of the volunteers said her former boyfriend was black and they were all really shocked" (author's ethnographic observation, 17/01/2018)

Cross-cultural immersion thus has the potential to be two-way, where members of host organisations and local people can learn about life in the UK through their interactions and relationships with volunteers. Of course, there is inequality and privilege in this learning, where the volunteers are able to travel outside their culture to learn about the 'other', where such a luxury is often unavailable to those in host organisations. Yet, cross-cultural experiences are still possible, with the potential to challenge stereotypes and build greater understanding and relationships across cultural divides.

The desire for cross-cultural engagements often also extended to learning and sharing in each other's' spiritual life. For instance, consider the following statement from Angel,

> "We learn different things from you, even the way you shared about your spiritual life in the UK. Lots of the people there don't see God because they are rich and people's said maybe I wish I was born in an outside country, but maybe being in Tanzania it is a good thing that helps you know God even more and be close to him. So even we learn a different culture from you being here". (Angel, Sollus)

Angel speaks of how, through her interactions with the volunteers, she has learnt about religion and spirituality in the UK. Here she acknowledges learning about the culture of the UK, focussing specifically on the lower levels of Christian believers there. For Angel, although the UK may seem more materially 'developed', it is spiritually lacking in comparison to Tanzania, where people can develop closer connections with God. Here we can see how cross-cultural engagements are considered two-way, with hosts learning about the culture of the UK, particularly the volunteers' spiritual life.

### 6.2.5: Skills Development

Sollus placed significant emphasis on the potential volunteer programmes had in bringing skills development for their organisation. Such a motivation was also registered by Tiessen (2018), indeed for her research it was one of the most significant host organisation motivations. In this, it was hoped they would be able to capitalise on the critical thinking and energy that the volunteers brought to the community development projects (see also Lough and Carter-Black, 2015). It was hoped the volunteers could help in English language learning, complete document translation and offer IT and other technical support free of charge. Such services would have been unaffordable to the host organisation if they had to employ professionals from their own countries. Such desires were also replicated in this dataset. Consider for instance the following statements and ethnographic observation,

> "Technical support is good, we have IT needs, computer skills" (George, Sollus)

> "Maybe if you come here you'll help me. So if you send money I will not get that advice, but if you come here and join me to my project I love that. Learn from you. Get the advice from you. Maybe to be equipped when you work together you learn new things, but for me I think having volunteers coming is good. Then money second, that for me. (Joseph, Sollus)

> "Today we spoke to Angel from Sollus about volunteers and the contributions they make when teaching. She said that the teachers learn different techniques from the volunteers. They do not use group work exercises very much, they just get the children to copy from the blackboard. Angel said they learnt group work from Naomi. I used a hardboiled egg to illustrate the core, mantle and crust in a geography class and Angel said the teachers liked this" (Authors Ethnographic Observation, 22/02/2018)

George reflects the research of Tiessen (2018), revealing how IT and computer skills are often desired by host organisations. Joseph shows that sending money will mean they are unable to gain from the skills of the volunteers. Whilst sending money could be valuable, for Joseph this means that skill sharing cannot take place. Such ideas were replicated throughout the dataset, yet the way volunteers contributed skills was often ambiguous, with general references made to skill sharing, but little specificity of concrete skills that past or present volunteers had brought. Tiessen (2018) also found that many of these requests for skills sharing go unmet, as many of the volunteers are young and unable to offer the specialised help desired. This shows an inequality in skill sharing, where the volunteers from 'developed' countries are able to develop their own personal skills through volunteering, yet the skill gains for the host countries is relatively low. Yet, Chica from Sollus shows an awareness that volunteers are different, with varying contributions. He says,

> "We have different volunteers. We have students and we have those who are working, and if they are a student we do not expect these to be much deliverables". (Chica, Sollus)

Chica here shows awareness that different volunteers bring varied skillsets, depending on their background. He recognises that some individuals come when they are students and he comments that they will not expect as much 'deliverable' skills or work because of this. Thus, whilst Tiessen's (2018) observation has validity, we can also see that some host organisations are aware of the differing ways volunteers can contribute to their organisation during their programme. Tiessen's (2018) research also revealed how some host organisations question whether volunteers can make a difference during their volunteer programmes due to their limited cultural understanding. This notion was replicated in this research, where missionaries in Tanzania challenged whether volunteers could make a difference or real impact during their relatively short times overseas. Rosa for instance comments,

> "I think it's quite difficult to have an impact when it's short-term, because we all make so many mistakes by not knowing even what we do wrong because we don't even know the culture". (Rosa, missionary, Tanzania)

Through Rosa, we can see that short-term volunteer projects are unlikely to bring significant impacts due to the short amount of time volunteers are present within the country and their lack of cultural awareness. This comment does not easily match up with the motivations of the volunteers, who commonly express a desire to help and make a difference. Through this, we see there is a need to align the motivations of the host organisations with the volunteers, to ensure the volunteers do not come with overinflated ideas of what they can achieve. Whilst host organisations do value hosting volunteers, their impact is often perceived in a different way to what they may initially hope or expect.

## 6.3: Religion, Faith and Spirituality

Whilst host and sending organisations were commonly motivated to take part in voluntary programmes for non-religious purposes, these motivations were not absent, as the next section of the chapter will discuss.

### 6.3.1: Global Church

For Sollus, the religious motivations centred on building relationships with other Christians and seeking to encourage others in their faith. This, it was said, was a means one could invest in the global church. In most cases, this went two ways, where both the volunteers and host organisations could invest in each other and benefit from the interactions with the other. Consider the below extracts from interviews with Nathaniel, Sophia, George and Mposi,

> "They are part of the church, and this is the Lord's church and it is calling everybody to participate. Therefore we need them [the volunteers], but also its gives them an exposure as young people for whatever they feel the Lord is calling them to do. The Lord might have led them, and this is the place He wants them to serve. We needed them and this is a way that helps identify their future work, their future ministry through what they did as volunteers." (Nathaniel, Sollus)

> "I would say the value in short term missions, is exposing the missionary themselves, the short term missionary themselves to, the possibility of additional ministry later". (Sophia, missionary, Tanzania)

> "We thank God that these people have come to our village, to receive visitors is to have God's favour, it is a blessing to us" (George, Sollus)

> "We are also praying for sick people. These brings faith, it, the prayer we do in the community or in the villages, it builds the faith of the people in the village. So faith wise, when we go to the community, we pray to people, we support peoples needs. These help people, and because we come from church, people have very big trust with us." (Mposi, Sollus).

For Nathaniel, hosting volunteers is a way they can encourage the volunteers in their faith, who can in turn, take the skills and encouragements gained through volunteering and strengthen the global church. Nathaniel and Sophia recognise that some young people may feel called to volunteer overseas, perhaps in view of longer term missionary or ministry work in the future. For Sollus, the ways they can encourage and build the volunteers in their faith forms a rationale for participating in the volunteering schemes. George speaks of the blessing volunteers can bring to his village. George expresses thankfulness to God that volunteers were able to visit their community, showing such visits have value and blessing in their eyes. Mposi also mentions the prayer activities the volunteers take part in during their programme. For Mposi, this praying encourages other Christians and brings people to the Christian faith. Here we can see that for some Christian host organisations, their faith can be a factor in influencing their decision to participate in voluntary programmes. Yet, unlike the volunteers themselves, their principle reasons were often non-religiously oriented.

## 6.4: Pre-Departure Training

Before volunteers travel abroad, it is common for the sending organisation to do some form of development education or induction. This varies between organisers, with some having a day of training, others a week, others a month. The material used differs greatly between organisations. Some organisations provide materials for volunteers to take home and engage with more deeply. This could include recommended readings about development or the country of relevance, thought-provoking documentaries on the internet, activities or tasks for the volunteers to complete, or online webinar style classrooms. Whilst analysing the educational materials of the volunteer practices was not a key aim of this thesis, an outline of how Amare trained their volunteers is helpful in setting the scene for the following chapters. As such, this section now turns to outline the pre-departure preparation from Amare.

For Amare, their development education centred on 4-5 days of training where participation was compulsory. Each day started with sung worship, prayers and a small Bible reading. During the remainder of the day, there were a number of different sessions focussed on preparing the volunteers physically for their time away. These included fundraising advice, health care information, safety briefing for their time in their destination country, safeguarding information and an outline on how to use social media when abroad. There were also sessions that educated the volunteers on issues associated with development education, culture, mission and poverty.

In these sessions, Amare outlined their definition of poverty that was understood as broken relationships between God, other people, oneself and the environment (this idea will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 8). Volunteers were tasked with using a problem tree to think about the root causes and consequences of living in poverty for a young schoolchild. This exercise was particularly valuable in helping expand the volunteers understanding of poverty. Consider the ethnographic observation below,

> "After doing the poverty problem tree we discussed whether there was anything that surprised us. One of the volunteers spoke about not realising children may have to miss school because they needed to collect water or that on their way to collect water they could be attacked. Another volunteer was surprised by how environmental harm could affect those living in poverty. Another volunteer was surprised that parents might only send their daughters to school to secure a higher dowry" (Author's ethnographic observation, 28/10/2017)

These sessions fostered a safe space for volunteers to explore their experiences and knowledge of poverty, development and injustice. Throughout all these sessions, there was a focus on active citizenship and development learning. A balance was struck between how the volunteers can contribute to the work of the partner organisation and what the volunteers could learn from their placements. Amare stressed that the aim was to build relationships and see the work of the different projects in the host countries. Emphasis was placed on mutual learning and development, rather than aid or charity. Attempts to prepare the volunteers in terms of appreciating and celebrating a different culture were also made. Volunteers were showed a video of non-British individuals commenting on the British culture. Following this, the volunteers discussed whether they agreed with these

comments. In this, volunteers were made aware of, and encouraged to challenge, any of their own cultural biases about the countries they were going to visit.

The training indorsed a positive relationship with the partner organisations in the host communities and the volunteers were encouraged to recognise similarities as well as differences between themselves and those in the partner organisation. In this, the partner organisations, such as Sollus, were positioned as equal and experts in the field of community development. Negative images of pity and western superiority were absent and the volunteers were encouraged to avoid these in the pictures they took during their placements. For instance, a social media training session, stressed the importance of portraying both the positive and the negative elements of life in the respective countries. Equality was emphasised where they spoke about everyone being created in the image of God and therefore of equal worth and dignity. Here we can see evidence that many sending organisations make significant efforts to reduce power imbalances and paternalistic tendencies before volunteers travel overseas.

Yet, whilst these efforts would go some way in reducing northern superiority mindsets and othering narratives, it is likely that by accepting that people in the host countries need development projects, the volunteers could unintentionally view these countries as less advanced and in need of help from inexperienced and untrained volunteers from the UK. Relatedly, Brown (2018) talks of the challenges in the volunteering industry where tensions may arise in educating volunteers on renouncing structural injustices whilst at the same time, advocating small-scale charitable projects. Such tensions, Brown (2018) argues should be spoken about explicitly with the volunteers and allow space and time for them to reflect on this during their volunteer placement and on their return.

Overall, the sessions provided were mostly informative rather than reflective, where an overload of content could have hindered participative learning (Brown, 2018). Whilst it was emphasised that the volunteers could learn from their host organisation, there was less of a focus on how the placement might enable the volunteers to become informed about, and involved in, challenging structural inequalities and promoting change once back in the UK. Further, issues of power, oppression, injustices and discussion of former colonial histories of the respective countries was absent. Through ignoring these colonial relationships, or situating them in the past, the volunteers were not able to learn about, or critically engage with, the impacts of colonialism in the countries they would be visiting (Bryan, 2012). Relatedly, information about the countries the volunteers were travelling to was also not included, perhaps due to the variety of destination countries. Whilst the volunteers were encouraged to learn about the country before leaving, this was not emphasised largely. As such, many of the volunteers had little knowledge of the countries they were visiting, nor their histories.

Through omitting discussions of power, oppression and injustice, the volunteers are unable to grasp the complexity of poverty and development, nor what a long-term approach to tackling these issues would look like. Here softer forms of global citizenship were emphasised, as opposed to critical forms of global citizenship engagement that sought to understand and challenge structural injustices (Jefferess, 2008; Andreotti, 2014), something I return to in later chapters. To ensure volunteers are able to appreciate the complexity of development and gain an understanding of poverty, injustice and inequality, educational sessions should seek to foster greater critical engagement and reflection on these topics. This could involve discussion groups on issues such as privilege, colonialism, poverty and

approaches to international development. Further, educational materials could be distributed beyond the official training programme. This could include books, blogs and thought provoking documentaries.

Materials produced *by* the destination countries might also help educate volunteers on the culture of these countries. For Christian volunteers, this could include reading theology produced by these countries. Ogden (2008) warns of the potential that learning about the 'other' through the eyes of fellow foreigners can reinforce, rather than break down, stereotypes about host countries. Such engagement could reduce these stereotypes and 'saviourism' or superiority mindsets. Relatedly, the place of volunteering in development needs to be effectively outlined to avoid volunteers approaching their placement with these superiority saviour ideas. As seen in the preceding sections, volunteers are commonly motivated to help people, yet hosts and sending organisations place a greater emphasis on seeing and experiencing the development work, as well as building relationships. Discussing these issues would ensure volunteers and host motivations and expectations align. Relatedly, the challenges of volunteering should be openly discussed so volunteers can ensure they act and think in culturally appropriate ways and avoid problematic elements of volunteering. If volunteers are genuinely interested in helping others, it should be emphasised that investing time in such discussions and engaging in the educational elements are a crucial part of the volunteering programmes. This can ensure their help is appropriate for the context.

Whilst each volunteer is different, it seems that many did not prepare for their placements outside of the training given by their sending organisations. Of course, there are exceptions to this, were some volunteers mentioned reading literature about volunteering overseas and attempting to learn about their destination country and their language. However, for the most part, many of the volunteers practically prepared for their placements by fundraising, purchasing culturally appropriate clothing and ensuring their vaccinations were up to date. Such measures are important, yet many volunteers did not go beyond this. Consider the following extract from an interview with Ffion.

> "Me: What's your understanding of the culture we're going to be going in to?
>
> Ffion: This is the kind of thing I feel I need to read into. There's so much I feel like I need to do and I've just completely forgotten to do all of them. I think that's one of those things as well that I'm scared of reading into it too much. Sometimes I feel like you can read things that are a bit unhelpful. I know I do need to read into stuff, but I worried I'm going to go in with a British inaccurate version of what it will be like and that will be a bit of a barrier (Ffion, volunteer, pre-departure interview)."

Ffion shows an intention to prepare further for her trip, but is unaware of where to look for helpful resources. Such findings brings implications for volunteering organisations, showing a gap where they could suggest appropriate avenues for volunteers to prepare for their volunteer programmes and to gain a better understanding of their host culture. Ffion also expresses a concern of developing an inaccurate view of her destination country. Here we see a glimpse of critical engagement as Ffion acknowledges that the way Africa is portrayed through British channels may not be accurate reflections of the reality of life there. This idea of representation is discussed further in Chapter 7. It was unclear from my data whether Ffion went on to prepare for her upcoming volunteering

programme. Further, this intention to learn about the culture, history or politics of the destination country was not mentioned by many other volunteers.

## 6.5: Concluding Statements

This chapter has given voice to the motivations of the sending and host organisations and thereby provided a fuller understanding of rationales for participation in Christian international volunteering placements. For host organisations, unlike volunteers, non-religious motivations dominated. Such motivations included a desire to expose the volunteers to their community development projects, thus improving their credibility and transparency. It was hoped that volunteers would return home and testify to the work they had seen to donors from the UK. Further, past volunteers may fundraise for these community development projects, allowing Sollus to expand their work. Whilst host organisations do not see themselves as victims of inequality and dependency, this is displayed through this funding rationale. Sending organisations also desire exposure to development work, this it is thought, will educate the volunteers on issues of poverty and development, ensuring their thoughts and actions are changed through the process before returning home. Sollus also strongly desired to build relationships with the volunteers and better understand the 'other'. For Amare, these relationships could humanise development work, creating emotional connections between the volunteers and hosts, which in turn could encourage social action. For Sollus, these cross-cultural relationships could challenge stereotypes the volunteers may hold about their country. This was found to occur both ways, where the stereotypes of Sollus were also challenged through interactions with volunteers. Lastly, Sollus desired an enhancement in their skillset, particularly IT and English language skills. The impact of volunteers in terms of skills enhancement was questioned however, as many volunteers were untrained, volunteered for a short amount of time and knew little about the culture and customs of the country they visited.

Lasting, this chapter has reviewed the pre-departure training materials provided by Amare. Exercises such as a 'poverty tree' provide a safe space for volunteers to explore and expand their knowledge of poverty. Throughout this training programme, an emphasis on development learning and active citizenship could be seen. Amare made significant attempts to unsettle cultural biases and superiority mind-sets, frequently emphasising the skill and value of partner organisations. Yet, ideas of power, injustice and oppression were fairly absent, and specific information of the destination countries, nor their histories was not provided. Such an oversight could mean volunteers act in culturally inappropriate ways and do not foster a critical global citizenship position, where they would seek to understand and challenge the root causes of poverty and injustice. Rather, short-term aid or charitable actions are likely to result. Whilst these are not bad in themselves, they are not optimal, and fail to educate the volunteers on the necessity of long-term development work.

The following chapter moves from investigating motivation for participation in Christian international volunteering programmes, to understanding how these programmes influence the volunteers' understanding of, and engagement with, poverty and inequality. Ideas of white saviourism, global citizenship and cosmopolitanism in particular are drawn upon to aid this analysis.

# 7. Christian International Volunteering and the Production of White Saviours, Global Citizens, Both or Neither

## 7.0: Introduction

This chapter analyses how volunteer programmes influence the volunteers' understanding of and engagement with poverty, inequality and injustice. Further, the way religion, faith and spirituality influences these understandings and engagements are considered. This chapter thereby examines both the first and second research objectives for this thesis. The first section contributes to studies of 'whiteness', exploring how the volunteers own privilege and the poverty in the local communities is overlooked, with volunteers revealing their annoyance of being positioned as rich, defending their privileges and using 'poor but happy' narratives to describe the local communities. Here discussions of power and systems of oppression were relatively absent in the volunteers discussions and their privileged positions were seen as luck or a blessing from God. Further, the poverty and inequality provided a setting for a short and fun experience of 'authentic Africa'. However, many volunteers also showed honest reflections of their volunteering placement, acknowledging that the volunteer gains more than the local community does. Moreover, stereotypes and representations of Africa as homogenous, poor and barren are challenged, as volunteers see and experience a diverse continent where wealth, knowledge and diversity exist. This challenges internal hierarchies, pitying attitudes and white superiority mindsets and volunteers increasingly foster respect for their host countries.

The second section of this chapter draws on the concepts of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism and shows how both the host organisations' and the volunteers' global citizenships and cosmopolitanisms are developed and expressed through volunteering internationally. The concepts are understood as fluid and ever changing (Staeheli, 2011; Arneil, 2007). In this, religious narratives such as the 'family of God' and the 'global church' are used increasingly by volunteers. In many ways, the volunteers are led to reassess their internal hierarchies and biases, and respect is shown for the host communities. Close relationships are formed with the local church, and volunteers progressively appreciate and celebrate the differences they see in the way people in Tanzania practise their Christian faith (Kambutu and Nganga, 2008). These close relationships have the potential to unsettle internal power dynamics and white superiority tendencies. In this section, I also draw upon Andreotti's (2006) distinction between soft and critical global citizenship and reveal that whilst volunteers do show critical engagement with international development issues, the principle form of engagement aligns with softer forms of global citizenship. Such engagement focusses on helplessness and short-term solutions, foregrounding the agency and experience of the volunteer, as opposed to challenging the injustices and their root causes.

## 7.1: White Saviours

The study of 'whiteness' has been emerging amongst many academic disciplines. In this, whiteness scholars discuss whiteness as a social construction (rather than 'white skin' as a biological feature) and critically question the structures and systems that maintain whiteness as a position of structural advantage (Dyer, 1997; Fine et al., 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Leonardo, 2002; Levine-Rasky, 2000). McIntosh (1990) encapsulates the idea of white privilege by describing her own privileges as an

'invisible knapsack'. She defines this invisible knapsack as the "unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious" (McIntosh, 1990; 31). Here she refers to the privileges an individual can rely on, and benefit from, as well as the silences that allow such privileges to exist and continue with little challenge or push back. Issues of power, oppression, justice, inequality, privilege and neo-colonialism are all inherent to whiteness studies. At its core, whiteness studies seeks to confront privilege and ensure we do not lose sight of how the history of colonialism is intertwined with privileges and inequalities in the institutions and structures of contemporary society.

As such, whiteness studies is a relevant and valuable field to draw upon when researching international volunteering programmes. International volunteering operates in the context of inequality, where the privileges that allow young individuals to travel to a 'developing' country, simultaneously disallows the reverse. Whiteness scholars have demonstrated how white people have been conditioned 'not to see' their own power and privileges, whilst people of colour are all too aware of their lack of privilege (Bandyopadhyay, 2019). For white people, it can be difficult and challenging to acknowledge these privileges and admit they could have been developed at the cost of another (Solomon et al, 2005). Yet, when young people embark on a volunteer programme, it is likely that they may become aware of, or more attuned to, their own 'invisible knapsack', leading them to question their existing knowledge of privilege and justice and the values their western lifestyles are built upon. Zahra and McIntosh (2007) attest to the long term and potentially life-changing impact volunteering internationally can have on an individual, where, in their dataset, individuals were recounting unsettling encounters with poverty years after their placement. However, others have shown how white privilege runs deep in international volunteering programmes (Bandyopadhay and Patil, 2017). This section displays how white saviour tendencies are both produced and unsettled through Christian international volunteer placements.

As a note, I acknowledge new and emerging trends in international volunteering practices where it is becoming more common for individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, yet with British nationality, to volunteer in various host communities overseas. For instance, evangelical Christianity is growing in many black and brown communities and individuals from these communities are becoming increasingly involved in overseas volunteers. Whilst not all individuals travelling from the UK to host communities may be white, I still use the term 'white saviour' to contribute to, and draw upon, themes and concepts from whiteness studies and in acknowledgement that all my participants were white.

### 7.1.1: Articulations of Whiteness

In her study on international volunteering, Schwarz (2015) reveals how some of her participants avoided using the term 'white' when speaking about themselves. For Schwarz (2015), such an avoidance can be viewed as a manoeuvre to evade explicit admission of privilege. Rather, participants may use less politically charged descriptions, such as their nationality or hair colour, to sidestep the discomfort they may feel due to their whiteness. Yet, this was not the case throughout all her research, where Schwarz (2015) was surprised to find some participants comfortably acknowledging themselves as white. Carter comments, 'whites, while socialized in a racially constructed world, are taught not to be aware of themselves in racial terms' (Carter, 1997, p. 199). Yet Schwarz's (2015) study perhaps

reveals an emerging trend where individuals are acknowledging their whiteness and the inherent privileges this offers. My research also revealed an awareness of one's whiteness. Chloe for instance states,

> "I found it challenging being white, because it's a lot harder to fit into the community, when they have preconceived ideas that we're rich and we have lots of money and that we can do everything and that we're amazing when we're exactly the same. Its hard to fit in the community when they put you on a pedestal. They kind of expect you to have a lots of money. Yeah that was hard. And that everyone, it was weird concept, that they saw you as having lots of money and I'm only 18 I don't have any money, I'm not rich, no, not at all. But then you think about it and actually compared to what they have I am rich, which is weird spin on the perspective of things because I never see myself as rich at all" (Chloe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Here we can see that Chloe does not shy away from acknowledging her whiteness and shows an awareness of the associated privileges this may bring. Yet she reveals some confusion at how her whiteness is perceived by the people in Tanzania. In her eyes, her whiteness and privilege does not mean she is any better, richer or more skilled than those she is meeting in Tanzania. On one level, this reveals a humble response from Chloe where she reveals how she does not place herself above those in Tanzania, or perceive herself as superior. Yet, she also reveals discomfort that those in Tanzania mention her privilege. Her internal dialogue shows her confusion and self-reflection on her wealth. Initially she comments that she is not rich as she is only 18 and without a well-paid job herself. Yet she does not factor wider privileges at her disposal, such as the wealth of her parents, access to health care, clean water, her educational opportunities or the availability of funding bodies who sponsor young people on volunteer programmes. Later in her quote however, she shows greater critical awareness where she begins to realise that she is rich compared to those she meets in Tanzania, yet is uncomfortable with this as it causes separation between herself and those in Tanzania.

Whilst Chloe does acknowledge her whiteness and associated privilege, she becomes uncomfortable and confused as to why that means she is set apart from those in Tanzania. In this, she reveals an unawareness of the wider systemic inequities that sustain these racial advantages. This reflects the findings of Endres and Gould (2009) who also observed a surface level acknowledgement of whiteness and privilege that lacked deeper discussions of power or structural injustices and inequalities that create and perpetuate global poverty and privilege. Privilege here becomes something that needs to be defended rather than something to resist or challenge. Chloe's confusion, or perhaps frustration, shows a pushback and a dislike in having her privilege made known. In this, she becomes more attuned to the unequal power dynamics between herself and those in Tanzania. This confusion and sadness at not being accepted into the local community is also not accompanied with a desire to disrupt the unequal social relations that have developed and perpetuated this privilege (see also Schwarz, 2015).

Tiessen (2018) found that volunteers were often eager to have stereotypes of their own country dispelled and did not want their country to be viewed as an ideal world. Here the volunteers wanted to show how there was poverty in their own country and felt frustrated when they were viewed as wealthy. In this, there was a lack of understanding of how, despite their intentions to dispel these ideas of wealth, their very presence in these countries sought to reinforce these stereotypes. Just by being able to take time away from work, to leave one's family and to get on a plane shows a relative

level of wealth and privilege that is unobtainable by those they meet. This is only compounded with the presence of cameras, smart phones and suitcases of clothes that may cost more than some people in the host communities earn in months. Yet, volunteers will try convincing local people that they are not rich. Consider the following comments of Naomi and Ffion.

> "It kind of feels hard to be the white person who has money, even though actually its been completely via God that any of us are able to come here. That's been another challenge over here, you don't want to be put higher, the mzungu with all the money. Its so hard not to be that, because we are white people, so". (Naomi, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "But its been hard like, in the local community. Just walking past people and them saying mzungu at you. Not feeling integrated, knowing everyone is calling you a mzungu" (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

Here Naomi expresses discomfort that she is thought of as rich, commenting that it is only because of God that she is able to volunteer. Whilst volunteers genuinely believe God has provided them with these finances, Naomi does not acknowledge the privileges that allowed her to raise these funds, such as a wealthy church congregation or religious funding bodies. Naomi and Ffion also express unease in the way they are called mzungu and thus separated from the local community. Mzungu, a Swahili phrase, is commonly used to mean white person, yet translated literally means 'aimless wanderer' or 'behaving rich'. For Naomi and Ffion, their whiteness should not be a reason they are set apart, and we see a form of resistance techniques, where volunteers become unhappy being called 'mzungu'. Here they do not see how such comments could beyond their white skin as a biological factor, but point to the privileges it affords them.

### 7.1.2: Accommodation and the White Saviour Experience

During their volunteer programmes, it was common for individuals to seek out opportunities to stay in less privileged accommodation to ensure their experiences were authentic. The accommodation was central to having an embodied experience of 'Tanzanian life'. Yet these experiences were fairly sheltered and often safe and comfortable, where the volunteers were able to withdraw from challenging situations, always had access to clean water, mosquito nets, mattresses, washing facilities, food prepared for them each day, access to transport, medication and the ability to leave should they wish. Staying in this accommodation was a fun experience, almost like camping, where they could get back to the basics and encounter poverty and inequality, but in a sheltered manner. Yet many of the volunteers likened this to the realities of life for many in Tanzania. For instance, Danielle and Annie comment,

> "Although the change in accommodation at the schools has been very different to what we have been used to and quite challenging as we were ill, I have actually really enjoyed experiencing the Tanzanian style of living and how drastically different it is to the standard of living in the UK". (Danielle, past volunteer)

> "The accommodation we stayed in was very basic, and whilst that may be a challenge in some ways, it was also a joy to be experience living as some Africans do" (Annie, past volunteer)

For Danielle and Annie, staying in the primary school accommodation was a fun experience where they compared their new surroundings to their usual accommodation in the UK. Their time in this accommodation was positioned as a fun experience, without acknowledging the injustice of unequal access to accommodation with clean water. Poverty and its realities of malnutrition, disease and death are not truly realised through this superficial African living experience where Danielle and Annie can leave whenever they wish. For Baillie Smith et al (2013), willingness to experience the conditions of poverty rests on the privileged mobilities of volunteers and their 'capacity to move in and out of [hosts'] social and cultural spaces' whilst these hosts remain unable to move into theirs (Baillie Smith et al, 2013, p. 130).

According to the host organisations in Tiessen's (2018) research, volunteers frequently make cultural mistakes that can make receiving volunteers challenging. Hosts may struggle with volunteers who find adapting to a new environment difficult. These hosts may then have to invest a lot of time in accommodating the needs of the volunteers. This was also replicated in my dataset, demonstrated in the following quote from Angel, a staff member at Sollus. She says,

> "One of the challenge when we go to the village and sometimes we find hard if volunteers don't use a certain kind of food or a certain kind of environment. Maybe if they see something in a situation that is not good and they took a video and post on Instagram or somewhere. Something that I did not like, the toilet video. Of course, it is our environment and it is really poor so, I do not like when you publish it to the internet. Just cope with the environment and leave it, when you go back just make stories. Even show your families but not the whole world." (Angel, Sollus)

Here, Angel is referring to an instance where she has viewed the video blogs made by our volunteer group. In this, the video showed the accommodation of a primary school that we stayed in during our second week volunteering. In this video, a tour of the accommodation is given which shows the toilet, bedrooms and washing area. Humour is used throughout this video, as the accommodation is compared to that in the UK. The accommodation tour features heavily throughout the video blog, showing the importance of accommodation in experiencing the 'authentic Africa'. We showed a lack of awareness and sensitivity to the realities of poverty, where the accommodation was not unjust or something to be unsettled by, but a fun experience to be consumed. However, later in the volunteer trip, we reflected more on the way the accommodation was presented in the video blogs, retrospectively adding a comment to the bottom of the video. It reads

> "Since posting this video we have thought more about the way we presented our accommodation. At the time, it was a big shock and we dealt with it through humour. Now we appreciate that this is reality for many people and we value the way they live, and how strong and joyful they are despite having different accommodation from us. We admire them and seek to learn from them!"

Here we can see that volunteers begin to engage critically in their time overseas, appreciating further how such living conditions are a reality for many people in Tanzania. Whilst the appreciation might not go as far as seeking to disrupt the privileges and power structures that have produced such differences in living standards across the world, it does show how volunteering programmes can unsettle the volunteers' perceptions and encourage thoughtful reflection on their encounters and experiences whilst overseas. The volunteers show remorse and humility, expressing a dislike at how

they initially positioned the accommodation and revealing a sense of respect for those in Tanzania and a desire to learn from them.

### 7.1.3: "Blessed"

Following volunteer placements, it is common for volunteers to express language of 'gratefulness' for their lifestyles or 'fortune' in their home country (Simpson, 2004; Crossley, 2012). Such language often shows hints that volunteers are beginning to realise their own privilege and it displays a certain level of self-reflexivity. These narratives of fortunate and luck were also replicated in this research, but it was often manifested with a religious lens of being 'blessed'. Consider Becky, Kathryn and Sophie,

> "Seeing what we've seen, speaking to people. That's enough to make it worthwhile to come and realise how blessed and fortunate we are" (Becky, past volunteer)
>
> "if you go to a third world country you'll just see what it's like on the other side and how people live and how happy they are and it will definitely make you a lot more grateful for what you have" (Kathryn, past volunteer)
>
> "I think that whenever, if I'm ever feeling just like my life isn't great I'll just picture that scene of Jamie eating all that bread and I will just put it in perspective everything, because we are so blessed". (Sophie, volunteer, in-country interview)

We see here how volunteers do begin to realise their privilege and comparative advantage to those in Tanzania, but this is put down to nothing more than luck. Privileges are considered luck and a blessing from God, rather than resulting from systems of domination and oppression. Narratives of fortune, luck and blessing are used to rationalise inequality and cause examinations of power, oppression and inequality to be bypassed. For the most part, volunteers did not go further in questioning why they are blessed, or why the UK has less material poverty than the host community does. There is a danger here that these 'blessings', perceived as resulting from 'luck', will cause these privileges to be accepted and not challenged. For Crossley (2012) and Darnell (2011), these narratives of lucky, fortunate, grateful, and by extension, blessed, enable the volunteer to acknowledge the unfortunateness and unfairness of poverty, whilst preserving the legitimacy of their western lifestyles and their innocence in global systems that maintain and perpetuate global poverty and inequality. This newfound appreciation of their luck or blessings 'becomes an ethical end in itself, allowing volunteers to resume their lives back in the 'West', in the knowledge that they have undergone a personal, internal transformation' (Crossley, 2012, 243). It should be noted that volunteers do not seem to hold the view that blessing can be achieved through their works, faith and prayer, a view similar to emerging trends in the prosperity gospel. Rather, it seems the origins of these blessings are not questioned, but attributed to luck.

Further, through these quotes, we can see how narratives of luck and blessing refocus discussion on the volunteers themselves and their own personal benefits. For Sophie, the inequality witnessed is something that can be used to make herself feel better, rather than something that needs change; and for Becky, she says simply meeting people makes the placement worthwhile as it shows how blessed and fortunate she is. This self-focus means the volunteers turn away from engaging with, and challenging, the poverty and inequality, choosing to focus more about their lives. Using the language of blessing allows the volunteers' wealthy position to be separated from positions of poverty. This in turn, allows volunteers to maintain their non-complicity in unequal relationships between 'developed' and 'developing' countries. The language of being blessed also begs the question of whether the volunteers would perceive those in Tanzania as not blessed or favoured by God because of their

circumstances. I imagine this would not be the case, however it seems that many of the volunteers had not developed the critical engagement that poses such questions about how wealth and privilege, and poverty and inequality, have come to co-exist.

In this, we see the necessity of ensuring volunteers adopt a critical standpoint and ask questions about development, poverty and injustice. For instance, when the volunteers are helping on feeding programmes, rather than just giving out food and thinking they are blessed to receive three meals a day, it would be pertinent for the volunteers to ask why the child is hungry. What has led to this child not being able to have three meals a day? Alternatively, when attending a health programme, asking why the government is unable to test children for malaria. Through this, the volunteers will become more aware of how their privileged position has come about. The necessity for this is demonstrated in the following quote from Phoebe. She comments,

> "when you see someone is the same age as you and they seem to have achieved so much. Maybe that would have encouraged them to keep coming to school" (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Phoebe here talks about her contribution to a Tanzanian school where she believes her presence at the school might have encouraged pupils to keep attending when they saw how much she had achieved at a similar age. In this, she reveals a lack of awareness of why and how she might have achieved more through her schooling than her Tanzanian counterpart, nor how educational constraints in Tanzania might have lead her counterparts to seemingly achieve less. Thus, we see the importance in ensuring volunteers become critically aware of their privileged position, and then become involved in resisting the structures that have allowed the inequality in privileges.

### 7.1.4: White Teachers

Teaching in local schools is a common activity volunteers engage in whilst overseas and where problematic saviour notions and actions are commonly manifested. These teaching activities have received wider public discussion where an Instagram account has also been established, with the name 'Saviour Barbie'. The two American women behind Saviour Barbie use this account, and their experience volunteering and working overseas, to raise awareness and public debate of the more problematic areas of international volunteering. For instance, Figure 2 shows a fashionable looking Barbie teaching a class, yet the caption reveals she has no formal education training, just 'optimism'.


*Figure 2: Barbie Saviour Instagram post (Zane, 2016)*

Such notions were replicated in my research where some volunteers were teaching subjects that they had little background knowledge in and where many of the pupils had low levels of English literacy, despite being partly taught in English by their Swahili teachers. I myself can vividly remember leading a geography lesson where I had a basic knowledge of the subject and was unable to answer some of the questions positioned by the class. Further, Victoria and Chloe comment,

> "the language barrier made it quite difficult. I wasn't always sure if they were taking in what I was saying and I don't think it was very beneficial, us teaching in English, when they didn't know what it was in Swahili especially when we didn't have teachers in the classroom to translate, we were just hoping they would understand" (Victoria, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "I really liked teaching because it was so different from the UK. I wouldn't have been able to do that in the UK because of all the regulations but it was fun to just pick a topic and be like, I'm going to teach that. Teaching kids who are older than you, when I've never taught a lesson in my entire life and have no experience of it" (Chloe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Victoria reveals the difficultly of the teaching practices due to the students having low levels of English literacy and having to teach topics that were unknown to the students in Swahili as well as English. This was made more difficult by the absence of translation. For Chloe, it was fun to undertake this activity even though she had no teacher training or experience. She enjoyed it, as she would not have had such an opportunity in the UK where regulations requiring one to have a teaching qualification to teach in a school would have got in the way. Here we can see how using volunteers as teachers could send challenging messages to the volunteers and host organisations. For the host organisation, using volunteers with no teacher training exaggerates the colonisation of the mind (Ngũgĩ, 1986) and

compounds their view that whiteness equals a higher status and intellect. For the volunteer, it could reinforce ideas that they need to be the 'saviours' of those in their host community.

The way many of the volunteers approached their teaching activities was influenced by their faith. It seemed that in some instances, faith was used as a substitute for their lack in teacher training, as well as providing a source of comfort and coping mechanism for the volunteers when they become overwhelmed with the prospect of teaching. Consider the comments of Katie,

> "We went to a secondary school, they sat us down and said welcome teachers, and we were like actually we're not teachers at all. I was teaching poetry which is difficult even to English students let alone Tanzanian students where it's their second language. I walked into the class and I had one poetry book and there was about 65 students in front of me. I was like God please give me the strength to do this because I have no idea what I'm doing. I could see the technical terms were going over their heads, that was challenging. Being put into that environment with a complete lack of resources and understanding of the context as well, it teaches you a lot, it teaches you to rely on God" (Katie, past volunteer).

Katie demonstrates how a Christian volunteer might approach teaching differently to someone without a Christian faith. Her faith provides a source of comfort and strength when faced with the challenges and difficulties of teaching in an unfamiliar environment with 65 students and limited resources. Further, she shows the belief that God provides her with the capabilities and skills necessary for these teaching tasks. The locution of 'God doesn't call the equipped, he equips the called', was held by many of the volunteers who believed God had called them to their placement and as such, it was not necessary to undertake teacher training because of the belief God would enable them to complete these activities. Of course, it is possible that even with previous teacher training and experience, the volunteers might still feel uncomfortable and overwhelmed with teaching in a new and unfamiliar environment. Katie's position shows humility, where despite her education in the UK, she does not perceive herself to be an expert and able to teach those in Tanzania. However, there is a danger that volunteers and volunteering organisations may not invest in proper training and preparation due to a belief that God is able to provide the necessary skills. Whilst this may be a deeply held conviction of many Christians, it seems that undertaking adequate training is essential to ensure individuals are prepared for their teaching activities and that the schools in the host community receive appropriate help to meet their needs and expectations.

Further, the contribution the volunteers make whilst teaching could also be questioned due to the length of time they are present at the local schools, noted by one of the local teachers and shown in this ethnographic observation.

> "We were just leaving the secondary school and one of the teachers began talking to us. He was saying that for us to help more at the school we need to be there for longer. He was saying we are not here very long and the children don't have time to get used to us or our English when we teach or do sports. He was asking us to make our stays for longer and come back because then we could be a lot more helpful to the school and the children" (authors ethnographic observation 04/02/18)

Here we see how the length of the volunteers placements restricts the volunteers having a greater contribution to the schools they are visiting. For this teacher, the volunteers would need to spend a lot more time in the local schools to allow the school and the schoolchildren to benefit from their presence. The ethics of using short term volunteers as teachers is challenged here. If the

schoolchildren are not gaining from the time to volunteers spend in the school, then should volunteers be engaged in this activity?

These teaching activities could also inadvertently re-enforce superiority mindsets in the volunteers themselves. For instance, if anyone can go Tanzania and do a job like a teacher, which usually requires significant training, they could perceive development to be easy and straightforward, where anyone, regardless of experience, age and training can do it. If volunteers are told they can teach, just because of their British education, it is possible they could subconsciously view themselves as superior to those they teach in Tanzania. The idea of sending untrained young people to teach overseas contrasts with practices done in the UK. Here a young person visiting or interning at a school would undertake menial tasks like sharpening pencils and shadowing the teachers whilst they listened and learnt, rather than teaching a class themselves.

Some FBOS are becoming aware of the dangers of sending young untrained volunteers to a foreign country. Rather, they are trying to ensure their volunteers are doing activities where they are best able to contribute to the local community, according to their existing skillset. Corrie explains,

> "We want to make sure they're not going to do something that they're wildly unskilled for. I had a very long set of conversations with someone in Kenya. My question to her was well what are your skills? Because she basically was torn between going to work with agricultural NGOs, or doing teaching. She had a PGCE so she was qualified in teaching. Her only interest in agriculture was that she had done geography at university so she could have been a burden, or she wouldn't have been able to help in any way, or put it any input at the same time as learning.". (Corrie, FBO)

Here Corrie shows the importance of ensuring volunteers undertake activities they are adequately trained in. For her FBO, their concern is not what the individual volunteer might like to undertake, but rather what training they might have that could equip them to input into the local community. Corrie similarly mentions the importance of learning alongside input, displaying the belief that individuals should volunteer to both input into the local community, and learn from them. Such an approach is preferable as it ensures the local community receives skilled input, as well as humbles the volunteers to learn as well as help. Additionally, it is less likely the volunteer will assume that simply being from the UK is sufficient to undertake their voluntary activities and meet the needs of the host community.

In their research, Lough and Carter-Black (2015) found that white volunteers were often preferred to black or brown volunteers by host organisations due to their perceived superior knowledge, wealth, power and connections. It is assumed that these resources and privileges will create social, political and economic change in their communities. Volunteers are then expected to carry the burden of being white just as [locals] have to carry the burden of being black' (Crewe and Fernando, 2006, 52). In this, unfair expectations may be placed on volunteers due to their skin colour. Nathaniel and Paul demonstrate this in their following statements,

> "Even an African could go to that place and the expectation is that these people are going to do everything. If we were visiting a specific church, they would expect preaching on the Sunday. Singing, helping cleaning the church, cleaning the clinics, evangelism. So they would leave everything to you." (Nathaniel, Sollus)

> "There is that assumption here that when you are white, regardless of your age, you're able to do almost everything. So if you're given that class to teach, regardless whether you've taught, it's like you will still deliver. People have a lot of expectations. Very high

> expectations. The issue is she is from England. She is capable of preaching. She is capable of teaching. She is capable of just everything". (Paul, Sollus)

Nathaniel shows here that visitors, even African visitors, are expected to undertake the necessary tasks for the running of a local church, from cleaning the area to preaching in the Sunday service. High expectations are then placed on international volunteers due to their status as visitors. Paul shows how this expectation is only compounded by the embedded view that white individuals are skilled, regardless of their age or education or training. Such ideas reveal a colonisation of the mind (Ngũgĩ, 1986), where whiteness is associated with a higher status, power, and privilege and without whom, one is unable to develop and progress. White saviour mentalities are not just held by volunteers, but are also entrenched in the minds of host organisations and local people. These expectations could be damaging to the volunteer programmes, causing volunteers to feel overwhelmed by the tasks and their ability to deliver and meet these expectations. Further, if the volunteers are unable to deliver on these expectations, host organisations could be left disappointed. Such concerns are demonstrated in the following quotes from Chloe and Ffion,

> "I found it difficult how high the expectations of us initially were when we first went to the primary school. I think a lot of people presumed that because we were white we are qualified to preach and teach and do everything when realistically, none of us at that time had had any experience whatsoever in any of those things, and we were expected to teach students we had never met by ourselves within a day of arriving". (Chloe, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "It felt as though we were expected to teach classes by ourselves, and to prepare extra sessions for the children, as well as doing door to door evangelism. I found it particularly hard to face the prospect of so much work as we hadn't been given enough information in advance, which would have given us time to prepare. It was also challenging because I didn't feel comfortable teaching by myself without first having any experience, but we were under the impression that we were letting the school down by asking if we could teach in groups for the first week". (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

Here we can see how volunteers may become overwhelmed with the expert status expected of them. Chloe and Ffion show how they were asked to teach a class of students they had never met with no formal teaching qualifications within the second day of arriving in the local community. Chloe specifically mentions her whiteness, attributing it to the expectations that were placed on her to teach a full class by herself. Ffion mentions the lack of notice they were given for these activities, which did not allow her to prepare for the upcoming work. She also voices her lack of experience and discomfort that they might be disappointing the local school if they chose not to teach on their own, but teach in groups. These insights reveal a clash in expectations for the volunteer programmes, which could be potentially problematic if either party are left disappointed or feel their expectations have not been met.

Yet, despite these challenges associated with teaching, Sollus commented that they received good reports from the schoolteachers where the volunteers taught. Joseph for instance comments,

> "When you went to teach in the schools, you had some good techniques and working in groups to make the students understand. Even repeating things, you come up with a lot of examples. It is easy for student to understand. One of the impacts, you go to the teachers, maybe those who saw. There are other things, a lot of techniques, like the egg, we can use and student can understand". (Joseph, host organisation)

For Joseph, the volunteers are useful in the school as they can bring teaching techniques that the Tanzanian teachers may not know. He refers to "the egg" where I used a boiled egg to explain the crust, core and mantle of the Earth. In this, the Tanzanian teachers can learn from these techniques. Joseph also mentions learning in groups, which was introduced by the volunteers to help the students speak with each other in class about the subject topic. Here Joseph touches on two tangible instances where the volunteers inputted into the school and shared their knowledge and techniques with the schoolteachers.

Furthermore, it is also likely that some lessons go untaught due to a lack of teachers who have to teach multiple year groups and subjects. Figure 3 displays a class register that shows several classes had not being taught that day. Here the demands on teaching can be seen, where in the furthest right column, the words 'not done', are written for three lesson slots that day.


*Figure 3: A class register showing how many lessons are 'not done' that day*

Thus, considering many lessons go untaught due to schoolteachers being overstretched, complex ethical questions about whether short-term unskilled teaching is better than no teaching at all are raised. Considering the demands on the teachers and the gaps in teaching in these primary schools, volunteers may well be suited to filling these gaps. Teaching here appears to be a day-to-day negotiation of which teachers are available and whether funds are available to pay their salaries. As such, when volunteers are present in these primary schools, they could bring added capacity to the schools by filling these teaching gaps. Further, some teachers spoke about the benefit they may receive after volunteers have visited their schools. Consider this ethnographic observation below,

> "I had just finished teaching my geography class and came to the staff room for our break. I was speaking with Rachel, one of the local teachers and she was talking about volunteers they had had in the past. She spoke about how a group of previous volunteers had visited

> their primary school and then arranged some funds for building a dormitory so they can have more girls visit their school. The school was very passionate about having more girls in the school and frequently went into the local community to convince local families to send their daughters to school. They were happy with the dormitory as it meant they could house and teach more girls (ethnographic observation, 14/03/2020)"

Here we can see that teachers see benefits in hosting volunteers as it may bring financial help to their schools once the volunteers return home and are able to fundraise or donate money to the school. This however present dilemmas that schools could be hosting volunteers with little teacher training in the hope that funding may be secured. There is no guarantee that any financial contributions will be gained for their hosting of the volunteers, however, it seems this is a trade off the schools are willing to take and are free to do so. Yet, this poses challenging moral questions for international development organisations to see whether their mission for international volunteering programmes match up with the motivations of the local communities to ensure these programmes are beneficial for all who take part, particularly the local communities who put time and effort in to receiving these volunteers.

A definitive answer to this moral question of whether unsustainable, unskilled and short-term teaching help is better than no help at all is complicated and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, we have seen problematic elements surrounding the use of teaching in volunteering activities that suggest further work is needed to ensure the expectations of the volunteers and the host organisation align prior to their placement. Further, sending organisations may wish to consider training their volunteers with skills for teaching, or attracting volunteers with prior teacher training or experience. Such training would also ensure white superiority messages are not communicated to the volunteers when they are able to teach classes in Tanzania with little to no training. Using untrained volunteers for teaching can also, most likely inadvertently, entrench a colonised mindset among the local people, where they view themselves as unable to develop and where volunteers could view development as easy and simple, where anyone with little training can teach.

### 7.1.5: Honest Reflections of Volunteering

As the volunteer programmes progressed, it was common for the volunteers to talk about realising how they had previously had saviour mentalities when deciding to volunteer. Yet, through their time overseas, they began to see the damage such attitudes could have and how their hopes, expectations and outlook on the programmes had changed. Annie for instance offers an honest reflection on volunteering.

> "Its not a selfless thing to do, but I think it has this image that maybe it is a selfless thing to do. I don't think that's the right way to look at volunteering, it kind of paints you as a hero figure, and you're not. You're going there to learn and have a good time and to help, but you're not saving" (Annie, past volunteer)

Annie here destabilises the idea that international volunteering is a solely altruistic activity and shows dislike that volunteers are painted as hero figures. For her, the volunteer placement is a way for the volunteer to learn, have a good time and help, but not save. Whilst Annie does push back against viewing volunteers as heroes, showing glimpses of critical engagement with the volunteer programmes, it should also be noted that the goals of the placement as still focussed on the individual volunteer and their experience and agency to help. Likewise, many volunteers attest that the

volunteering had more of an impact on themselves than the host organisation. Sophie and David for instance comment,

> "coming out with an eagerness to learn rather than an eagerness to change poor people's lives. The value in international volunteering is in teaching the volunteers more than anything, I think its build relationships between the 2 countries, pulls the walls down between different cultures, strengthens the church in the 2 countries, it helps change people's mindsets, breaking down stereotypes, like not me being the saviour, helped my faith" (Sophie, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "It's not about you doing loads. It's more about what you sort of get from it in terms of experiencing that and helping you to guide your vision for yourself in the future and how you want to play a part in world mission" (David, past volunteer)

Sophie and David comment on the importance of learning and experiencing rather than inputting into the local community or changing the lives of those they meet. These ideas show how volunteers do critically engage with their time overseas and reject saviourism or paternalistic mentalities. For David, learning and experiencing was essential to inform any long-term missionary commitments he could make in the future. Yet, learning notions also force us to ask challenging ethical questions of the value of international volunteering, which supposedly, is to bring benefits to host countries. If the volunteers are benefitting more significantly than the hosts, should the practice continue? However, this needs to be balanced against the knowledge that many host organisations continue to participate in volunteering programmes.

### 7.1.6: Representations and Stereotypes

A central tenant in whiteness studies is the politics of representation, particularly the way white people or organisations may represent black or brown people and communities (e.g. Chouliaraki, 2013). As discussed in Chapter 3, The Voluntary Service Overseas (2002) report *The Live Aid Legacy* shows how pitying attitudes, which were promoted in the 1980s through events and campaigns like Comic Relief and Live Aid, still prevail in the public mindset. This report revealed that 80% of the answers to what people relate with 'developing' countries was war, famine, debt, starvation, disasters, poverty and corruption. Africa is then viewed as a disaster zone and 'bad news' (Potter et al, 2008), accentuating its status as something 'other' (Said, 1979) and helpless, passive and inferior, compared to 'us' in 'developed countries as the privileged race, responsible for those in Africa. *The Live Aid Legacy* report thus argues that breaking down these stereotypes 'will create stronger associations with people, thereby leading to a more informed, engaged population who are likely to have a more humanitarian outlook' (Voluntary Service Overseas, 2002; 13). Fenyoe (2007) and Hogg (2011) reveal that many development organisations struggle to engage people in more nuanced and critical discussions about poverty, justice and development due to this public opinion of pity. Here we can see how colonial 'othering' mentalities are not confined to the past but are deeply rooted in many people's minds (Spivak and Harasym, 1990; McEwan, 2002; Darby, 2000).

This politics of representation has featured in existing international volunteering research, and Bandypadhyay (2019) investigates the way such politics are manifest in the voluntary activities of a group of young Catholic volunteers travelling to Kolkata. In this, the Catholic volunteers are found to adopt imperial tendencies when speaking about Kolkata, failing to see the wealth in the area and espousing images of destitution and poverty and a need of being saved. Here the volunteers position

Christianity as synonymous with modernity and speak of how the communities should learn from the modern Christian communities in the West about how the build society. On the other hand, some volunteers did acknowledge the wealth they saw in the area, which lead them to question their existing representations of Kolkata that were now seen as inaccurate and misleading.

Goffe (2015) challenges the images celebrity and gap year volunteering practices promote, saying "you would think there were no African think-tanks, no African universities, no African human rights lawyers" (Goffe, 2015, 3). Indeed, one of the criticisms facing Comic Relief and celebrity Stacey Dooley in 2019 (BBC News, 2019a; BBC News, 2019c) was their failure to educate viewers on the emerging middle class in many African nations. Yet, my research showed how, through their time overseas, the mindsets of the volunteers concerning Tanzania and other African nations were unsettled. Many volunteers mentioned being surprised about seeing wealth, developed areas, the clothes people wore, the presence of universities and trained people in hospitals, illustrated in the following quotes.

> "we've definitely seen poor areas but actually there have been some quite developed places" (Victoria, volunteer, in-country interview)
>
> "it surprised me when I got here seeing the clothes people wear that are really smart, like clothes we would wear back home" (Chris, volunteer, in-country interview)
>
> "I think I never realised that there was a wealthy side to Africa. I think I thought it was all poverty. I thought their hospitals wouldn't have qualified people but they do. There was a university too. I think I was surprised to see wealth, I think we're led to believe there is no wealth. I feel like things like Comic Relief show you, my experience was based on things I'd seen on TV and the internet" (Kathryn, past volunteer)
>
> "You see a lot of adverts for Water Aid and things like that, you see these adverts of people in the third world looking really unhappy and actually it doesn't paint an accurate picture of what life is like in Africa, there's so much happiness as well". (Annie, past volunteer)

The volunteers here display a critical engagement with their time away, where they begin to realise popular images of Africa as destitute and needy are not representative of the whole continent, where areas of urbanity, modernity and wealth are common. Kathryn and Annie particularly pushback against the representations of Africa from charities like Comic Relief and Water Aid. These images were considered inaccurate of their experiences where they saw universities, qualified doctors and happiness. Chris and Victoria were similarly surprised to see wealthy areas and that many individuals wore similar clothes to people in the UK. Here we see the ability volunteer programmes have for challenging dominance and superiority viewpoints and deconstructing damaging representations of host communities. Formerly, volunteer practices have been criticised for perpetuating patronizing representations of the global south as exotic, pure, helpless and in need of saving. Whilst this can certainly not be ruled out, this research reveals how time spent volunteering can subvert these representations. Here the host communities are no longer defined by what they lack, but what they can offer. Colonial 'othering' or 'us' and 'them' mindsets (Spivak and Harasym, 1990; McEwan, 2002; Darby, 2000) are thereby reduced as individuals spend time volunteering overseas.

Because of such realisations, the volunteer's attitude and orientation towards people living in poverty changed during the volunteer programmes. Initially, the volunteers felt pity towards those living in material poverty, but later they acknowledged the damage a pitying attitude can have to building

relationships. Pity was replaced by respect, and many said they had learnt from those they may have originally pitied, of how poverty is also present in the UK, namely through religious and social poverty. To illustrate, consider the reflections of Sophie and Ffion,

> "I looked at their poverty and only saw what I had and what they didn't have. When there's so much that we have that they don't have and vice versa. By looking at poverty as I have more therefore I am greater, rather than I have more as a fact. You can put yourself above people or you can just see it as a fact that they don't have what I have but I don't have what they have either" (Sophie, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "Stuff like Comic Relief I think through them we are taught to really pity them, and they need our money and we have to give to them because it's not fair that they have so little and we have so much. I think that's one of the reasons I've come out with the mindset that we should pity them. But like, when you see their poverty, see your own poverty too. There's so much that they have, like their community and their trust in God to provide. By building that wall between you, you are losing out." (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

Sophie and Ffion show how through their relationships and encounters whilst volunteering, they became increasingly aware of ways their lives were lacking, were humbled by this knowledge and the former pitying attitude was replaced with respect (Gill, 2007). Such a change is significant for international relations and for reducing damaging power imbalances and harmful stereotypes. Further, the importance of humility in international volunteering has been noted elsewhere (Reynolds and Gasparini, 2015; Tiessen, 2018), where host organisations frequently comment that volunteers need to recognise the strengths of the local communities, as well as the existence of ongoing valuable and effective development work. Sophie's comment thus show how volunteering experiences can be transformational in this instance, where poverty is not something distant and 'out there' to be experienced by the 'other' in the 'third world' (Said, 1978; Darby, 2000), but it could be a shared experience and need not involve feelings of superiority or inferiority.

For some volunteers the presence of wealth was a disappointment and they would have liked to see more poverty so they could feel their voluntary contributions would make a difference. For Phoebe, volunteering was about the experience she could have and the feelings she could get from helping in the host community.

> "It's not as poor as I thought, I don't know why I had in mind it would be a couple of string shelters with some reeds on top. I think it was slightly disappointing because it's not as poor as I thought, I thought we would be going to an even more basic place. I think what we've been doing would have made more of a difference and this place is actually quite developed for Africa" (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Phoebe's perception of the host country has been challenged and she expresses surprise that the area is 'developed' and doesn't contain a few string shelters. However, this challenge is not welcome and she reveals her desire to experience the poor, rural, hopeless 'Authentic Africa' where she could feel she had made a difference through her voluntary activities. Further, she shows a lack of appreciation for diversity in Africa, saying how the area is 'quite developed for Africa' despite this being her first visit to Africa and is thus unlikely to know the true realities of life in African nations. Such phrasing

reveals how the images of Africa as destitute and helpless remain secure in her mind. Sophie displays the concerns of Jefferess (2008) who fears that volunteer programmes can focus on the volunteer and their ability to bring about change rather than focussing on projects of justice and helping the volunteer to challenge one's own view of the world.

In line with this, the volunteers also desired the 'other' to change their stereotypes about them. Many resented being thought of as rich, not seeing or appreciating their privilege and why they might be considered rich. Victoria and Chloe comment,

> "I think a lot of them think, have a big stigma about white people which is quite sad. Thinking we're all really rich and we can just give them money here and there and buy things for people. Which I'd love to do, but you can't do it for everyone and it's not really the right way for them to go about it either" (Victoria, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "Like asking me for my trousers, and to buy birthday presents for them and stuff which we were going to do anyway, but the fact they asked was a bit. It made me feel like they don't actually want to be our friends which is really sad, they just wanted our stuff, and to be friends with white people which was a bit heart-breaking." (Chloe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Victoria feels sad that there is a stigma around white people where they are perceived to have lots of money. She dislikes this label, suggesting they are being stigmatised. Whiteness scholars have suggested that socially privileged individuals, such as many international volunteers, have been taught 'not to see' their systemic advantages, making it difficult and/or painful to recognize that the privileges of some have been accrued at the expense of others (Solomon et al., 2005). Here we see Victoria feeling sad that she is considered rich and Victoria and Chloe not realising that asking your friends for money is much more common in Tanzania than in the UK. This then hinders the relationship building between the volunteers and the local community. In this, we see the importance of pre-departure training, as discussed in Chapter 6, where organisations can encourage volunteers to learn about the culture, economics and politics of their host countries prior to their placement. Such learning could include watching films or TV shows produced in the area, reading books and theology written by those in the country they are going to, reading about the geography of the area and learning the language and cultural customs of the host country. Whilst the volunteers would still inevitably make cultural mistakes, such preparation can mean confusing instances such as requests for money, will hinder relationship building to a lesser extent.

## 7.2: Global Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism

Whilst international volunteering programmes can attract, develop and challenge white saviour tendencies, it can also attract and develop global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies. In recent years, there has been a rise in ideas and practices of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism as a significant feature, past and present, of international development research and practice. Whilst these terms are different and distinct from the other, they also resonate and complement each other, and as such will be used in conjunction in the following discussion. A global citizen could be described as an individual who identifies as belonging to a global community. Their citizenship and loyalty goes beyond their nation state and are committed to actions to benefit others in this global community (Singer, 2004; Rawls, 1999; Dower, 2002). Relatedly, a cosmopolitan individual can negotiate a world of difference and divergence, including, appreciating and celebrating the 'other', with a central goal of harmonious

relationships between all people (Kramer, 1997; Carter, 2013); and their identity and ethical responsibility is not limited to their local community i.e. family, town, and nation.

Whilst the development and expression of global citizenships and/ or cosmopolitanisms cannot be considered a natural outcome of volunteering abroad, Rovisco (2009) contends that "international volunteers are more likely to adopt a cosmopolitan outlook because they are more overtly exposed to cultures, values and places that they experience as alien vis-à -vis their own cultural frames of reference" (p.267). By extension, this same notion could also be applied to the development of a global citizen outlook. Baillie- Smith et al (2013) similarly analyse the concepts of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism in their research on faith-based international volunteering and in their concluding statements, they comment that their work

> 'reveals the need to disaggregate the multiple cosmopolitan and global citizenships that can be produced through international volunteering, particularly as it articulates with faith, if we are to offer a critical and nuanced account of how international volunteering might support a more socially just world order' (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013, 134).

As such, this chapter turns to examine the links between faith, international volunteering, global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, commenting on whether and how such links may prove beneficial in addressing global poverty and injustice and in promoting international understanding and development.

### 7.2.1: The Family of God

Many have criticised the idea that volunteers can make a tangible impact in terms of development goals, yet volunteer programmes are found to be more effective when volunteers and hosts have expectations centred on intercultural exchange (Palacios, 2010). Whilst volunteers may not have been initially motivated by developing relationships, as shown in Chapter 5, as the volunteer placement progressed, the volunteers placed increasing emphasis on encouraging fellow Christians and building relationships. For instance, Ffion and Harriet state,

> "Well it didn't feel like we were doing anything until the pastor said that just to have visitors is a blessing. It's was so nice to meet with them [church women's groups]" (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "Its about building relationships. We're both Christians, we live in totally different cultures but lets be friends." (Harriet, past volunteer)

For these volunteers, increasing importance was given to the relational impact of their placements. They were able to meet fellow Christians, and reciprocal social capital was gained from these interactions. In Ffion's quote, we can see that the pastor of the local church in Tanzania also placed emphasis on the relational benefits of having the volunteers visit the local church. She comments how she did not feel like their volunteering programme was achieving anything, until she realised that by visiting local churches, they may encourage and "bless" local people. The importance of building relationships with the volunteers was also a key motivation for Sollus in hosting volunteers, and for several FBOs, as seen in Chapter 6. Relatedly, Katie and David mention the friendships they made with staff at Sollus. David reveals how these friendships were surprising to him, as he had initially expected close relationships with the other volunteers, but not with those he would meet at Sollus.

> "We made really close relationships with people out there especially with our translator Emmanuel, we spent most of our time with him, like 6 months. I was expecting it in my team, but not with people at Sollus or the community" (David, past volunteer)

> "Friendships with them was amazing, I still speak to them every week practically. Friendships with the staff Sollus team, they were so welcoming" (Katie, past volunteer)

Katie speaks of close friendships she made whilst volunteering, many of whom she still speaks to frequently after her return to the UK. In line with this, the volunteers commonly referred to the people they met and worked with in Africa as their "family", and their "brothers and sisters in Christ". Such ideas of "family of God" and "brothers and sisters in Christ" shows a particular kind of global citizenship, where the volunteers reveal a sense of belonging and commitment beyond their nation state to those with a shared Christian faith. The shared faith of the volunteers, and the people they worked with, created relationships and bonds that transcended cultural differences, and allowed meaningful connections. In this sense, 'they' were no longer viewed as 'other' or 'out there', but as a family. Consider Ffion,

> "One of the highlights was at church, the time we were singing Amazing Grace. When we went to church, we didn't understand anything that was going on and we couldn't sing along with the hymns. And the translation, there wasn't much of it. And then they started singing Amazing Grace and we could sing along in English and everyone in Swahili, and it was beautiful because we could all sing to the same God as the family of God" (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

For Ffion, singing the same worship song to the same God allowed feelings of connectedness and commonality with those in Tanzania, despite both parties singing in a different language. She refers to feeling part of one family who can sing to the same God despite their differences. Such friendships and experiences have significant potential to challenge stereotypes and allow volunteers and host communities to build up an accurate picture of what the respective countries are like. Schech et al (2018) and Eyben (2004) highlight how close relationships can allow individuals to see 'through others eyes' (Eyben, 2004, 101), leading to greater cultural understanding, which Becky demonstrates,

> "…experiencing another culture that is so different, different people, and how they worship differently but its the same God there, and they have the same struggles and joys that we have here in terms of having jobs and families and relationships and homes, and the challenges they face that we can't even imagine. I think yeah just experiencing another culture and becoming friends with people there, and not only giving a snapshot of it on holiday, but spending time having deep conversations" (Becky, past volunteer)

For Becky, volunteering is different from a holiday as it offers the opportunity for close relationships and deep conversations with people from a different culture to develop. She speaks about meeting different Christians, who despite worshipping in a different way, worship the same God. Through spending time with those the volunteers originally conceptualised as needy or poor, the volunteers discover several similarities between themselves and those they meet, such as having jobs, families and relationships (Rhoads, 1998). In this commonality, relational bonds are created. Becky here displays hints of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism where she appreciates and celebrates the

differences she experiences overseas, yet still maintains a connection with these people and acknowledges commonalities (Kambutu and Nganga, 2008).

Hopkins et al (2015) demonstrate how taking part in a faith-based international volunteer trip can lead to individuals developing religious maturity and acquiring a more global understanding of what it means to be a Christian. Such ideas were replicated in my dataset where a particular form of spiritual cosmopolitanism was adopted by volunteers. Here the volunteers referred to differences they had seen within the family of God, yet celebrated and admired these differences and humbled themselves to appreciate and learn from these differences. Naomi and Harriet for instance comment,

> "it's given me a wider picture of his people and his body, not just his English people but his body over here as well and how they do church and how they worship God in different ways" (Naomi, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "The spirituality of people in Africa is different to the UK. Here generally speaking we're quite reserved, we're not into supernatural stuff, we get a bit freaked out by it, we're quite quiet. Whereas they're a loud culture in Ghana, standing up and prophesying, singing and dancing in church and the Lord says and having big long sermons like that is very normal, and so, that's okay, it's not to be suspicious of, it's just a different culture". (Harriet, past volunteer)

Naomi and Harriet's quotes reflect Appiah's (2006) notion of cosmopolitanism where an individual seeks to understand the relationship between humanity in a way that values diversity. Here we can see Naomi widening her perspective on what it looks like to be a Christian, appreciating and understanding how and why people practise their Christianity differently in Tanzania, whilst still speaking about them as the 'body of Christ', to which they both belong. Here we can see ideas of togetherness through diversity. Harriet also appreciates this difference within the family of God and learns to appreciate that her own ways of 'doing Christianity' might not be right (see also Lewis, 2005; Weinmann, 1983). In a way, this leads to a reassessment and challenging of her internal binaries or hierarchies. This subversion of internal hierarchies was also represented in this quote from Lydia. She states that through volunteering,

> "You have to learn to the opposite of being hospitable. To accept hospitality, from people who have less than you often. Practically, engaging with people of a different culture you learn so much more, you learn your way is not the best or only way. It teaches you humility and a lot about the body of Christ. As Christians, we chose our church like this, this is the way I like to do it and implicitly we think this is the right way to be a Christian. You go somewhere else is reminds you that we are all Christians, we look different, we do things differently because of our cultures and musical language, our actual language, our prayer language, the way we understand things. But, it's not about what we do it's who we are worshipping". (Lydia, past volunteer)

Here we see that time spent volunteering can be beneficial in developing an attitudinal or dispositional orientation towards others, where volunteers experience a different kind of Christian faith leading to a respect for, and celebration of 'otherness'. For Hall (1993: 361), 'the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century'. As such, volunteer programmes could benefit volunteers and host communities alike as they begin to appreciate and celebrate differences. These

comments resonate with McAlister's (2008) 'enchanted internationalism', which "combines an imperialist style imaginary with something else - a sense of genuine religious community and even global solidarity" (McAlister, 2008, p. 873). Ideas of an essential humanity (Rovisco, 2009) are revealed here, where time spent volunteering internationally led to a greater acknowledgement that all Christians belong to the family of God. This contributed to the reduction of 'othering' narratives (Said 1979), which are commonly referenced as a problematic element of international volunteering (Simpson 2004; Tiessen and Kumar 2013). This idea of a body of Christ connect the volunteers with their host community, despite differences in religious and cultural practices, thereby nurturing respect, loyalty and fellowship (Dower, 2002).

These findings are particularly significant given the noted tensions between Christian churches in the 'west' and some African churches, where the less liberal characteristics and theology, or the spiritually charismatic worship style of the African churches comes under scrutiny by some from 'western' churches (Jenkins, 2002). As a caveat, it is possible that because the volunteer programmes were generally less than six months, the volunteers did not gain a full detailed understanding of the differences between the African churches and their churches back home. As such, the tensions between their theologies and world-views might not have been fully appreciated. However, the comment above denote a willingness to reassess their own view of how to practise Christianity and celebrate diversity within the Christian tradition. Yet, this cosmopolitanism could be regarded as internally cosmopolitan, due to the celebration of difference being within the Christin faith exclusively. Additional evidence would be needed to show if this could be externally cosmopolitan, perhaps with those from a different faith group. Additional research could also analyse whether and how the cosmopolitanisms of the host organisations and local people are influenced by their interactions with the international volunteers and their particular kind of Christianity.

Whilst these close connections and relational bonds can help volunteers reassess their own cultural customs and internal biases or hierarchies, they need to be willing and open to re-assess and challenge these (Schech et al, 2016). For most, the volunteering experience was seemingly transformative in this respect. However, for a few, the experience was less transformative. Sophie for example states,

> "You're like come on, think how far ahead we are and we've got machines to do this, we have toilet and showers with hot water that doesn't run out, and they're like oh well we're doing really well, and that's really good that they think like that, but it's frustrating that we're so far ahead and, they can't really see that because they haven't lived like us". (Sophie, volunteer, post-placement interview).

Sophie here discloses her frustration at the 'slowness' of Tanzania, revealing a lack of understanding of the complicated and multifaceted reasons behind global inequality, attributing it simply to the lack of experience of 'western living', and the drive and work ethic of the people. Here we see how volunteering can, in some cases, perpetuate perceived differences. In line with the findings of Diprose (2012), this research finds that volunteering can aid people in engaging critically with international development, but in can also lead to the re-enforcement of northern superiority notions, such as can be seen in Sophie's statement. Sophie distances herself from the poverty and slowness 'out there' in Tanzania, rather than interacting with it and challenging common assumptions held about the country. In this, she does not become aware of how both she and her home country has historically, and currently, been involved in systems of oppression and domination that allow inequalities in wealth

and development to exist. It should be noted, that comments such as Sophie's were relatively isolated accounts in the data set.

### 7.2.2: Soft and Critical Global Citizenship

There are many different conceptualisations of, and distinctions within, the concept of global citizenship. One distinction this thesis draws upon is that of Andreotti (2014), who uses a postcolonial lens to critique global citizenship practices and distinguishes between 'soft' and 'critical' forms of global citizenship. The former has a concern with poverty and helplessness, whereas the latter focusses on challenging injustices. For Andreotti (2014), the critical is the optimal global citizenship engagement, yet the softer forms are currently more dominant. These findings were echoed in my work, a potent example of this being when we were asked to buy a duck by a woman on the side of a street. We were advised, by our translators not to do this, yet some volunteers wanted to help the duck seller. Our translators told us there were many ways we could support the community, but advised us to do this through Sollus's structures of fundraising and campaigning. This led to a deep discussion about the appropriateness of giving when volunteering internationally, the wariness of creating dependency and perpetuating the stereotypes that white people come to African countries to give wide gestures of generosity without getting to know the local community. On the other hand, we did not want to come across as ungenerous when faced with such need and mentioned Bible passages that spoke about being generous to those with less and sharing your possessions with those that have none.

This conversation led to what, in common parlance, has been termed 'compassion fatigue' where someone feels paralysed in giving as they are unsure of the right way to go about this. In the end, we decided not to buy the duck, as we were aware we might become swamped with other street sellers nearby. However, a couple of the volunteers lamented this decision and stated, "I just wanted to buy her duck now" (ethnographic observation, 09/03/2018). This is a generous and common response when faced with need, displaying care and compassion. Moreover, such an action is not wrong, yet it supports the claim that international volunteering is perpetuating these 'softer' forms of global citizenship. In this act of buying the duck, the duck seller is helped in the short term, and we would have felt happy to help her; but in actuality, very little would have been done to change her circumstances, nor the other duck sellers next to her. This reflects Jefferess's (2008) critique of global citizenship where actions often focus on the agency and experience of the 'giver', as opposed to challenging the injustices.

Further, Andreotti (2006) argues that the 'west's' complicity in current international inequalities and injustices is often ignored. Lissner's (1977) research revealed how many members of the public regard development issues to solely concern low-oncome countries, as opposed to issues that are part of a global system of injustice. Here we see the importance of development a pedagogic framework to enable volunteers to critically engage in common assumptions and theoretical frameworks of international development. Such a framework could develop this idea of soft and critical global citizenship, showing the importance of moving beyond aid and charity and treating symptoms of poverty and inequality, but emphasising the need to challenge systems of injustice that cause and perpetuate this poverty. Through this, ideas that serve to maintain the status quo and assumptions of

European cultural superiority will also be interrogated (Andreotti, 2010), and volunteers will come to understand the role their own lives play in legitimising such injustices.

This proliferation of softer forms of engagement that focus on the experience and agency of the volunteer could in part be explained by the spiritual capital motivations of the volunteers. Due to the time overseas being principally about a personal spiritual journey, the impetus to engage critically in their time overseas, and in international development, is lessened. From this occasion, we see how religion and spirituality could in this sense perpetuate softer forms of global citizen engagement, however further investigation into this claim is needed. Yet we can also see indications that the volunteers do think about their time overseas critically, considering ideas of dependency and giving in their decision of whether to buy the duck. We can also see a tension here between the volunteers' faith and their knowledge of these development issues. In this, the volunteers are eager to take up the calls they read about the in Bible concerning caring for the poor, yet they are also aware of the difficulties and complexity associated with giving. In this they associate the religious messages with softer forms of global citizenship, yet their knowledge of development issues resonates with the critical forms of global citizenship.

In this instance, the volunteer's knowledge of the development issues (as well as their practical concern of being swamped with other purchase requests), was the dominant decider in their actions, yet the tension with their interpretation of the Bible's messages was clear. This tension between religious and secular narratives of development and poverty would be a worthy point of future research, and serves to emphasise the importance of religiously tailored development education in international volunteering. Faith-based volunteers may find secular development narratives lacking and at odds with their faith and thus to ensure they become informed and engaged on development issues in a culturally appropriate way, it is crucial for development education to be religiously tailored so volunteers see the connection between their faith and more 'critical' forms of global citizen engagement. The religious messages of caring for the poor and sharing one's belonging with those in need can also be applied to becoming critically engaged in their global citizenships, yet it seems in these volunteer placements, the religious messages are more readily linked to softer forms of global citizenship. Indeed Brown (2018) reveals how many development organisations struggle to get away from the emphasis on charity.

### 7.2.3: Making a Difference and the Value of Learning

For the volunteers, a common motivation for taking part in the voluntary placements was the desire to 'make a difference' or have an impact in the communities they travelled to, as seen in Chapter 5 (see also Sin, 2009; Diprose, 2012). However, once on placements volunteers are often given seemingly small tasks like filling soil into polythene bags, de-weeding greenhouses, translating documents and organising sports activities, and there were some occasions when Sollus said there was no work for the volunteers to do that day. This meant many of the volunteers felt disappointed, realising they were not making a big difference. Consider these two ethnographic observations, as well as a text message sent to my Father from my former volunteering placement in Uganda.

> "One thing that struck me at training was how they were trying to empower us to be global citizens. We had a session where it was said a number of times that we could make

> a difference, but it wasn't really said how we could or would make this difference" (Authors ethnographic observation 27/10/2017)
>
> "Today we were helping de-weed the greenhouse and the atmosphere was a little disgruntled. I chatted with two of the volunteers and we all spoke about how we felt we had been built up with what we could do, but we felt we had been let down as we were barely helping, maybe even hindering" (Authors ethnographic observation 01/02/2018)
>
> "Sick of feeling useless now" (Author's quote 08/08/2012)

Volunteers frequently lament that their motivation of making a difference goes unrealised (Sin, 2009, Diprose, 2012). Often this disappointment comes under scrutiny, with critique falling on the motivations and desires of the volunteers. In many ways, this is valid, with even myself showing an inherent desire to make a difference and assuming that with no qualified training in teaching, construction or agriculture that I could and would contribute to the local community in a few short months. Yet, this research also highlights the roles volunteer recruitment organisations, suggesting they are co-producers in an individual's 'making a difference' narrative. Through this they mislead the volunteers with unrealistic objectives of what they can achieve, and frame the volunteering projects with an emphasis on personal contribution, as opposed to the causes they will be championing and the cumulative difference being part of a larger movement or charity can have (see also Hopkins et al, 2015). Further, such 'making a difference' messages position the volunteers as experts, which could be damaging and difficult for host organisations if volunteers believe and behave as if this is the case (see Tiessen, 2019). Consider the following statements from Victoria, a volunteer, and Rosa and Alex, missionaries in Tanzania whose organisations receive volunteers.

> "I thought coming out I would be making more of a difference. I feel like we were given the impression we would really be making a difference and seeing things change but its felt a bit slow. Yeah that's been hard because I want to remember and be like yeah I made a difference here but I can't really pinpoint many things, or if any, that I've really felt like yeah I've helped. The whole going out there and thinking that we are superheroes, going to change the world, I guess I didn't realise that we were thinking that and that'd we be visiting more than doing things" (Victoria, volunteer, in country interview)
>
> "it's quite difficult to have an impact when it's short-term, because we all make so many mistakes by not knowing even what we do wrong because we don't even know the culture". (Rosa, missionary, Tanzania)
>
> "Its usually a pressure on our staff to host the short term missionaries and is not often a huge help. I believe that in general, the general truth of short term missions is that, its hard to come in and really make an impact. However, I will say, that, because of the exposure that they get, and if they do come back in a bigger capacity at a later time, it would have been worth it". (Alex, missionary, Tanzania)

Here Alex and Rosa reveal how receiving short-term volunteers can be challenging for their organisations, as it can take a long time to plan and carry out the programmes, and the volunteers commonly make many cultural mistakes without even knowing it. Alex observes how unlikely it is for volunteers to make a lasting impact because of the short amount of time they are present in the host countries. These quotes can be sharply juxtaposed with Victoria's, who mentions how her desire to

make a difference has gone unmet where she cannot mention an occasion she has properly helped. Similar feelings were expressed from other volunteers who resented the placement being "slow" and just wanted to "get on with helping" (Lydia, volunteer, in-country interview). These narratives of helping and making a difference are highly prevalent in international volunteering and are, as Simpson observes, 'a highly simplistic understanding of development, one in which enthusiasm and good intentions are allowed to prevail' (2004, p. 6830).

In this instance, the fact that volunteers feel like they are not making a difference or having a significant impact could be beneficial as, in many ways, the volunteers going home feeling they have not achieved anything is better than going home with overstated ideas of having saved those living in Tanzania. Indeed, one volunteer even observed "maybe it's good we haven't done loads because otherwise we would go home the saviours" (ethnographic observation, 27/02/18). Such an attitude unsettled these white saviourism mentalities and colonially rooted north-to-south power ideologies. However, there is also the danger that volunteers may become disengaged with development issues, due to the disappointment felt during their placement. As such, this thesis argues that volunteer recruitment organisations should move away from narratives that suggest volunteers can make a difference overseas, as well as attempting to reorient the motivations of volunteers who may approach their organisation with the desire of making a difference.

Biccum (2007) and Jefferess (2008) have critiqued many public faces of international development, such as volunteering, for emphasising the agency of the giver and their capacity to bring about change, as opposed to promoting projects of justice. For Biccum (2007) and Jefferess (2008), global citizenship in development has frequently been concerned with those who are responsible, and those they feel responsible for, thus reducing the agency of the poor and reinforcing historical legacies of inequality, reminiscent of colonial times. This therefore reproduces established power inequalities rather than contesting them, and serves to further distance and silence the poor. Jeferess (2008) comments that global citizenship in this sense becomes increasingly about the status of 'being a helper'. In this way, dominant North-South imaginaries are reproduced. These ideas were seen in the way volunteers initially spoke about the upcoming placements, for instance Chloe said

> "I think it will be good to teach them. I feel personally I want to learn lots from them but I want to teach them lots as well. So, especially like, to do with gender equality. Like how different it is here to over there and like obviously, English teaching. Just to try and teach them about our culture a bit" (Chloe, volunteer, pre-placement interview)

Whilst it should be noted that this respondent does acknowledge mutual learning, the comment still has an uncomfortable helping over learning, and northern superiority, edge. Further, we can see that for this volunteer, the upcoming placement is about being able to teach those she meets in Tanzania about her values and her culture. For Chloe, volunteering is about what she can bring and what she can change and how she can make a difference in Tanzania. Whilst there was a variety of motivations amongst the volunteers, comments such as Chloe's were common in the dataset. During the volunteer's final interviews, a breakdown of this northern superiority, making a difference, narratives was largely reflected. The volunteers commented now knowing that development was as much the global north learning from the global south as it was the other way around. Chloe's later interview reflects this,

> "I think before I thought that the only way to develop, countries like this, was to make them more like our country, and to use our methods and stuff. But now I have seen that they have so many good ways…. so international development isn't just about countries like this developing, but us learning about the way they are developing and the methods they are using as well." (Chloe, volunteer, post-placement interview)

Consider also the extract from an interview with Ffion,

> "We have so much to learn from the way they do things. Development is about countries like this developing, but also us learning about the way they are developing and the methods they are using. Just because we seem to be so much more technologically advanced doesn't mean we are better off". (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

Here we see how volunteering can unsettle individuals who begin to resist us/them, superiority/ inferiority dichotomies. Chloe and Ffion reveal an inner reorientation where they acknowledge the importance of learning from those they meet in Tanzania. Previous research has attested to volunteers imposing their viewpoints on host communities, with little appreciation for the ongoing development work the hosts are doing (Tiessen, 2018). This research however, found that volunteering was seemingly transformative in this respect, where volunteers would be humbled by seeing the ongoing development work, acknowledging that Sollus were the experts and they were visitors who lent a helping hand. Where paternalistic assumptions and statements may have featured before the placement, they were rarely demonstrated following the placement. This reveals the benefits of being exposed to different perspectives vis-à-vis to one's own and frame of reference and ultimately how this could encourage someone to question their assumptions and worldviews.

Chloe's and Ffion's quotes could be replicated throughout the dataset where, as the volunteer placement progressed, the volunteers' thoughts about the placement changed. Rather than being concerned with the physical contribution they were making during their time overseas, they become increasingly interested in what they were learning about life in Tanzania. They realised that when they were filling soil into polythene bags, they were learning about the monotony of living in poverty, when they were shelling beans they were learning about the instability of life in poverty where income depends on the productiveness of harvests and the reliability of weather patterns. It should be noted however that whilst volunteers frequently mentioned the value of learning in interviews, such learning narratives were often abstract and little mention of wider issues of international relations, trade policies, international debt, neo-colonialism, aid and development was given by volunteers.

This research builds on that of Biccum (2007) and Jefferess (2008) and shows that if projects of justice are promoted over the experience of the volunteer, it not only unsettles uneven power dynamics and de-centres the focus on the agency and experience of the volunteer; it improves the volunteering experience as well. In this, the volunteers' knowledge of the complexities of development increases, and they acknowledge that their personal contribution will be small in the short term, but could be greater in the long term, as they are better informed on poverty alleviation. Further, the volunteers are able to foster a deeper, more embodied, understanding of life in poverty. Whilst this is a relatively sheltered learning experience, it has the potential of inspiring future action once the volunteers return home. Interestingly, VSO issued a statement in 2006 stating their concern of the possibilities of short-

term international volunteer placements becoming self-focussed and self-gratifying, due to the emphasis on short term helping over learning.

Darnell (2011) showed how participants articulated a sense of 'First World guilt' when comparing their lifestyle with that those they meet whilst overseas. In this, they voiced contrition about being unable to 'solve' the material inequalities witnessed. This was replicated in my research where, following their volunteers placements, many volunteers lamented the lack of difference they had made overseas with many drawing on the familiar development rhetoric that 'they took more away than they had given. Annie for instance states,

> "I do still maintain that you gain more from volunteering than you give" (Annie, past volunteer)

Indeed even the host organisations who receive the volunteers often acknowledge that the benefit of volunteer placement lies most prominently with the volunteers themselves. Selas for instance comments,

> "but the strongest of this is the impact that the volunteer work has on the volunteers themselves" (Selas, host organisation interview)

In development discussions, this has been used to criticise international volunteering practises as ineffective and selfish. Further, Darnell (2011) positions these personal benefit confessions as a way volunteers can secure their innocence and non-implication in the systems that perpetuate poverty and inequality. However, this 'took more away than gave' position could also show humility on the part of the volunteers. In this, they acknowledge the hospitality of their host organisations and the richness they have gained from their encounters with these individuals and from their time in another culture. Volunteers leave with feelings of respect for the local culture, believing they have been able to input into their lives. In many ways, leaving a 'developing' nation with the idea that you have gained more than you inputted is preferable to inflated white saviour ideas. This position could also reveal a more nuanced understanding of volunteering placements, where individuals push back against the common parlance in international volunteering advertisements, that volunteers should go abroad to 'make a difference'. Here we can see a glimpse of a critical engagement with development, where volunteers see their personal contribution as diminutive when compared to the scale of global poverty and inequality.

### 7.2.4: Globally Active Citizens

When people volunteer internationally, they often witness severe material inequalities first-hand and often for the first time. These encounters have the potential to shake one's existing knowledge, value system and beliefs about the world. Specifically, beliefs about fairness and justice and western materialist lifestyles are open for challenge. As such, some have been termed international volunteering a 'pedagogy of discomfort' (Boler and Zembylas, 2003). In this, an individual's worldview and daily habits can be confronted. Zahra and McIntosh (2007) for instance, conducted interviews with volunteers several years after returning from their placements. They found that participants could still recall encounters with poverty that caused a positive personal transformation in the volunteers, where they acknowledge a sense of responsibility to their communities, as well as a rejection of materialistic attitudes and values. Such revelations led the authors to conclude that volunteer placements have life changing impacts on those who partake in it, where ramifications were deep and far-reaching, influencing the volunteers understanding of their place and role in the world.

However, it's also possible that fresh outlooks may not necessarily translate into social action whilst volunteering or after returning home (Diprose, 2012), an issue this thesis now turns to consider.

Following their time overseas, volunteers discussed lifestyle changes such as living more simply and giving money and time to charities. For instance, Victoria and Ffion state,

> "I think about money or buying things. I remember how little they have over there and it made me not want to buy stuff. I took three huge bags of clothes to the charity shop, I just don't need all this stuff. I've been trying to stop wasting any food. I'd like to give money, maybe water aid? The water stuff really hit me over there, that's been a key part of my story." (Victoria, post-placement interview)

> "I want to eat more vegetarian food and be more careful with plastics to be conscious of the environment. Thinking how grateful we should be for what we have. Being stewards of what we have. So our money, I didn't realise how selfish I had been with my money before I went, how much of a responsibility we have to give that money to God and to others. So I've been donating more of my money, and looking more at charities to see which ones are doing what and not just donating to Comic Relief, trying to find ones like Sollus who have local leadership. At uni I've joined a Just Love group and we look at social justice issues and what the Bible says about them. We looked last week at the refugee crisis" (Ffion, volunteer, post-placement interview)

Victoria here shows a disconnection with material objects, specifically her clothes, realising the meaninglessness of material consumption (see also Brown, 2018 and Mesa, 2011). She mentions the harsh contrast between her privileged position where she has lots of materials things, compared to those in Tanzania, which causes her to consume less. Such a position reveals how volunteer placements can be a significant step for an individual to critically reflect on oneself as a consumer and the societal value places on materialism and consumerism in one's home country. Further, Victoria mentions a desire to donate money to Water Aid. Whilst donating money to charities is a worthy outcome of a volunteer programme, Victoria draws upon her agency as a giver when she states, "my story", where the focus is shifted from those who lack access to clean water, to the affective experience that she had when collecting water (Andreotti, 2014; Jefferess, 2008). Overall, the volunteers commonly mentioned taking part in charitable actions for the vulnerable, without trying to challenge and resist the prevailing neo-liberal world order. This reveals the need for increased education of how volunteers can respond to injustice in ways that do not perpetuate helplessness and softer forms of global citizen engagement (Biccum, 2007; Jeferess, 2008). So, Victoria might then suggest donating money to Water Aid, whilst seeking to understand why communities do not have access to clean water and taking action to address this injustice at the root cause.

Ffion demonstrates how she has become a 'conscious consumer' (Mesa, 2011) by considering how her diet and plastic and clothing consumption might exploit people or the environment. She also displays a greater critical awareness with the charitable sector, describing how she researches the work of the charity, particularly whether they work through local leadership, before donating financially. Ensuring these charities work through local leadership will mean such projects are appropriate for the local community, will avoid white saviourism mentalities and secure jobs for the host countries, where unemployment levels are often high. Ffion also speaks about how she has joined the social movement

'Just Love' at university. Here she investigates issues of social justice, particularly focussing on how her faith should inform the way she approaches and engages with these issues. Such continued engagement with poverty, justice and development reveals how volunteering programmes can inspire social action after returning home.

Whilst lifestyle changes with some volunteers, this was not the case for the whole dataset, perhaps revealing how some volunteers may feel unsure or unequipped to act on the poverty they witnessed (see also Darnell, 2011). Considering many volunteers have extensive privileges where any lifestyle changes would involve sacrificing these privileges and the comforts of a 'western' lifestyle, it is perhaps not surprising that more substantial lifestyle changes were not voiced.

> "Interviewer: Have you made any lifestyle changes to respond to the challenges and the injustices that you saw while you were away? Does your life look any different, does not have to be huge ways.
>
> Respondent: not really, maybe sharing with people about Amare, but not really any change, I don't know". (Lydia, volunteer, post-placement interview)

Lydia here reveals a lack of change in her lifestyle following her placement, perhaps revealing how volunteers may struggle to know how to respond to the poverty witnessed whilst volunteering. Further, they may not see how lifestyle changes made in the UK impact those around the world, or they may be unwilling to make such changes due to the sacrifices this would entail. It should be noted that the volunteers who travelled to Tanzania were interviewed between three-seven months following their programmes and as such, the long-term impacts to the individual's values and behaviours is difficult to ascertain. Further, the past volunteers in the dataset had been back in the UK between one and five years, with one volunteer travelling eight years prior to the interview. So whilst I was able to get an idea of how the volunteer programmes had informed the behaviour of the individuals, this is on a short time scale. As such, future research may wish to adopt a longitudinal study where volunteers are interviewed before, during and after their placement, with this after interview taking place after a significant amount of time in one's home country.

## 7.3: Concluding Statements

In this section we have seen how volunteering internationally informs the volunteers' knowledge of and engagement with poverty, inequality and injustice. The way religion, faith and spirituality influences these understandings and engagements was also considered, thereby examining both the first and second research aims for this thesis. On one level, volunteering can attract those with paternalistic white saviour mentalities, which are perpetuated through the volunteer programme. Volunteers often do not acknowledge their privileges, attributing these to luck and blessing from God. Here they remain unaware of the systems of oppression that have caused the poverty and inequality witnessed. This poverty is not something to be challenged or resisted, but to be experienced for a short period before returning home. Volunteer recruitment organisations need to recognise that they do not function in a neutral environment, but one which has years of inequality, oppression and injustice behind it. Whilst volunteers may sign up to their volunteer placements with little awareness of these issues, they should not be allowed to travel without some form of social justice pedagogy. Such pedagogy should raise awareness of issues of oppression and prejudice. For Freire, to ignore

these issues would reveal one's complicity with them (Heaney, 1995). However, spending time overseas can also be transformative where volunteers challenge the stereotypes of Africa often promoted in the public sphere. Here they become more aware of wealth, knowledge and diversity in African nations. Such realisations cause a reduction in pitying attitudes and volunteers increasingly respect their host communities.

Next, this chapter revealed the fluidity of global citizenships, showing the role volunteering internationally has in both developing and expressing these global citizenships; both for the volunteers and the host organisation. A shared Christian faith between the hosts and the volunteers creates connections that transcend cultural differences and causes the volunteers to reassess their own internal biases, realising their own way of practising Christianity might not be superior to those in Tanzania. Significant emphasis was placed on building relationships and celebrating difference. Global citizenships were often expressed in 'softer' forms, where the root cause of poverty and injustices were not investigated. Ultimately, this section shows the need for volunteers to develop a more critical understanding of poverty and development issues.

The following chapter continues to explore research aims two and three to understand how both faith and volunteering internationally influence understandings of, and engagements with, poverty and inequality. Here ideas of spiritual poverty are elaborated on, as well as how prayer forms a significant way the volunteers respond to this poverty.

# 8. Faith and Poverty: Exploring Conceptualisations of, and Responses to, Poverty among Christian International Volunteers

## 8.0: Introduction

In the first section of this chapter, I look at faith and poverty and show how the volunteers make sense of poverty through their religious viewpoints, thereby examining the third research aim of this thesis. Here I look not at religious texts and theologies, but how individuals take hold of these theologies, interpret them, make them their own, and inform the way they understand and take action on global issues of poverty and injustice. For the volunteers, poverty is understood to be a result of human sinfulness and the solution is in Jesus' death, resurrection and future return. This provided comfort and hope for the volunteers, which influenced their engagement with poverty in various ways. For some it caused an acceptance of life's injustices, for others it inspired action. In this section, I also map how understandings of poverty change through the volunteer journey where increasingly the volunteers attitude to those in poverty changes from pity, to respect, reducing common post-colonial critiques of international development activities that perpetuate 'us' and 'them' stereotypes (Gill, 2007). This section also shows how the faith of the volunteers is influenced through the volunteering process, arguing that faith is not static, but fluid, where volunteers feel challenged and struggle with tensions in their faith and the poverty witnessed. Overall, I reveal how a growth in spiritual capital is acknowledged and prioritised by the volunteers. Finally, in this section, I reveal how a 'poor but happy' narrative is developed by the volunteers. In this, they speak about the spiritual richness of those they meet in Tanzania, which in some ways creates respect amongst the volunteer, yet in other ways causes the poverty and injustices to be overlooked.

The latter section of this chapter builds on the preceding sections and chapters by showing how perceptions of poverty and global citizenships/cosmopolitanisms influence the way volunteers respond to injustice and poverty, principally through prayer. Prayer is presented as a form of quiet activism and is related to emerging geographical work that positions small, often unnoticed actions, such as prayer, as forms of quiet activisms and quiet politics (Pottinger, 2017; Askins, 2015; Martin et al, 2007). Further, prayer becomes a way connections can be made between the volunteers and those they meet in Tanzania, where commonality in faith, despite differences in culture, is evident. Through prayer, each party is able to care for the other and power dynamics are unsettled as both parties present their requests to God, believing He is able to change these situations. In this, the volunteers and those in Tanzania are co-contributors to bringing change by interceding with God on behalf of the other. Prayer is also problematized in this section, where prayer becomes an absenting device, meaning that volunteers do not become politically engaged or active in challenging the injustices through any means other than prayer. Despite this, this section ultimately makes the argument that prayer within international volunteering should not be trivialised as it forms a significant way in which volunteers and those in Tanzania become active in their global citizenships and in caring for each other.

## 8.1: Faith and Poverty

Baillie-Smith et al (2013) comment that we have very little understanding of whether and how faith based international volunteering connects with issues of poverty. In this paper, Baillie-Smith et al (2013) work with a Christian organisation that sends volunteers to various countries in Latin America. From their data, they see a lack of engagement with poverty in these volunteering programmes. Without knowing the organisation in question, it is possible that such as organisation places greater emphasis on bearing witness to the Christian faith, than on understanding and addressing poverty (not that this was necessarily absent). There is a wealth of diversity between faith-based international volunteering organisations, where some place a greater emphasis on development, others on justice, others on poverty and others on bearing witness to their faith and seeking converts. Amare and Sollus both focus on the understanding and addressing of poverty, with their Christian faith as both an inspiration and guiding factor in their work. As such, they are ideal organisations to work with to better understand the links between Christian volunteering and poverty.

### 8.1.1: Religious Sense Making and Poverty

In order to address our lack of understanding of how Christian international volunteering connects with poverty (Baillie- Smith et al, 2013), this chapter turns firstly to explore how poverty is defined by volunteers and FBOs, focussing specifically on the religious lenses used to understand the causes and manifestations of poverty. The idea of broken relationships was used to describe the cause and manifestation of poverty. Within this concept, there are four kinds of relationships that have been broken, including an individual's relationship with God, with the rest of creation, with one's self and with others. Fiona explains,

> "We believe poverty to be broken relationships. So that can be a broken relationship with yourself, others, creation or God. It can be a broken relationship between a person and creation, how they treat the earth. In those broken relationships, that's where we see poverty. So the root comes from the fact that this world is fallen and broken, and broken relationships come from that" (Fiona, faith- based organisation interview).

Poverty is popularly associated with a lack of physical wealth or capital, but this religious definition challenges and extends this popular definition by incorporating social, spiritual and environmental relationships in poverty discussions. Further, Fiona comments that poverty exists because, due to human sinfulness, the world is not the way it should be. Such notions were replicated by other volunteers who describe the root of poverty as "human sinfulness and greed" (Lydia, pre-departure interview), believing that we are part of a "broken world" (David, past volunteer), so poverty and injustice should be an expected part of life. David and Katie for instance comment,

> "It comes from sin, people in poverty, that's an evil situation that God never wanted." (David, past volunteer)

> "Just remembering all the things that we see that are so awful. It hurts God just as much and God doesn't like it. But this is a part of a broken world and God will make it right one day when Jesus comes back" (Katie, past volunteer)

David and Katie's comments reveal a dissatisfaction with secular narratives of development, expressing that it is only through their religious beliefs of a broken and sinful world that they can make sense of the existence of global poverty and inequality. This was common among the volunteers who found public imaginaries of poverty and development lacking. For instance, colonial histories explained the presence of unequal power structures, but they did not go deeper in explaining why these histories of oppression exist in the first place. This was rather attributed to human sinfulness and greed and a religious outlook was favoured by the volunteers where public definitions were found lacking. Rather the volunteers believe we live in a sinful world where greed and oppression are expected. Yet there was little recognition of how this sin is manifested. The ideas of structural sin are fairly absent in volunteer discussions, as were the way sin has and is manifested in former and current, colonial and unequal power imbalances, unjust trade laws, corrupt governments, power structures that ensure the rich get richer and the poor poorer, crippling aid legacies, years of colonial rule and the colonial tendencies of large TNCs.

It should be noted here that the participants do not think that the individual's poverty is due to their own individual sin, but rather, that the presence of sinfulness across the world has caused this poverty. For instance, owners of large businesses that are focussing on profits, to the detriment of working conditions for their staff, are considered unjust and greedy, and thus sinful. The sinfulness of humanity, as a whole, is what many of these volunteers attribute as the root cause of poverty and inequality. It is because of the brokenness and sinfulness of the whole world that poverty and inequality should be expected.

The volunteers also use religious narratives when speaking of the solution to poverty, believing it to be rooted in the power of Jesus' death, resurrection and future return, where all things will be put into the right relationships again and the world will be made right, without poverty and injustice. David, Sophie and I describe;

> "Seeing people in such poverty, really heart-breaking. It challenges your faith, but what are the alternatives? Atheism, it doesn't engage in that at all. Christianity tells us this world is broken and we should expect to see things like that" (David, past volunteer)

> "People look at suffering like this and say how can you believe in a God, whereas I'm more likely to say how can you see that suffering and not believe in a God, like God is the only answer and hope when you look at it. If there's no God then this is just the way the world is and always will be. But we [Christians] can take hope and know God has done something about this poverty and injustice. It will be wiped away when Jesus returns. So this isn't the way the world is supposed to be therefore we can be angry about it, because we know that this isn't right, and it shouldn't be like this. So we can work and pray and do things in response to that. Humans can do huge things to tackle inequality, but ultimately the only hope of an end to suffering and inequality is in Jesus" (Author's diary entry, 14/02/2018)

> "God is the only solution to poverty and it's the only way you can have hope in it" (Sophie, volunteer, in-country volunteer)

For Sophie, the only way she could have hope when faced with global poverty was through God. From their faith, many volunteers, such as Sophie and David, believed there would always be poor people in the world due to a statement Jesus makes in Mark 14:7 of the Holy Bible where he says, "the poor you will always have with you". In this way, poverty was to be an expected part of life. For us, the only way global poverty and inequality could be rectified was in Jesus' death, resurrection and future return. All other development efforts could make significant progress, but they would never completely rid the world of poverty and inequality. David and I also reveal a dissatisfaction with secular narratives of development and we disclose that it was only through our religious beliefs that we could make sense of the existence of global poverty and inequality. Faith here provides hope of an eventual resolution where Jesus will return to earth and end worldwide poverty and inequality. Whilst many secular worldviews do believe an end to poverty in possible, such narratives were not held by the volunteers who stood by their religious worldviews that provided both the expectation that poverty would exist, but also the hope and comfort of an eventual resolution.

On one level this 'hopeful future' narrative became an absenting device where volunteers did not engage more deeply in the structural issues causing poverty or in ways to alleviate it because of this belief that God will end worldwide poverty. Injustice was expected and accepted, and some participants took comfort knowing God would do something about these injustices. Such ideas were replicated in Schwarz's (2015) study, where volunteers did not articulate that the witnessed poverty was problematic or unjust, but rather it was normalised and considered as just the way things are. For Nakayama and Krizek (1995) this idea that poverty should be expected could reveal an unconscious or unexpressed desire to maintain the status quo of their own privilege. There is thus a danger that religious narratives that speak of an expectation that poverty will always exist, could become a means of preserving one's own privilege and innocence in systemic causes of poverty.

A disengagement and acceptance of poverty and inequality was not the case for all volunteers however. For some, these hopeful future narratives motivated them to stand for people in poverty. Using biblical narratives of heaven, and the coming Kingdom of God, the volunteers were motivated to replicate this to the greatest extent possible now. Victoria comments,

> "Heaven is perfect, it doesn't have any poverty or inequality. I want the world to be perfect but its not going to be because only heaven is. So, I mean I know I can't make it perfect. I guess trying to make it, like a step towards, like it won't be anywhere near, but trying to get it as close to what heaven is" (Victoria, volunteer, post-placement interview).

Through Victoria's quote, we can see how these religious narratives offered both an explanation to why poverty exists, that the world is not perfect, but also a hope and a goal to work towards. For Victoria, heaven is a perfect picture of no poverty or inequality, and she is motivated to replicate this through her time volunteering and in her daily actions. In this instance, poverty and inequality are expected, but not accepted. Biblical narratives, and their effect on international development engagement, vary then according to the individual. This finding brings implications for FBOs to ensure the narratives of heaven and the Kingdom of God become motivations, rather than deterrents and absenting devices, of continued engagement and action in poverty alleviation.

Throughout the interview material, it was also evident how religious narratives can become a means the volunteers deal with feelings of discomfort produced by encounters with poverty and equality. Darnell (2011) and Cermak et al (2011) argue that volunteers commonly feel unequipped to tackle the material poverty they witness. Many felt diminutive in comparison to the complex issues they were seeing and as such, utilised these religious narratives to provide hope. In this way, the faith of the volunteers became a 'present help' when volunteers felt overwhelmed and they were able process the difficulties of the experience through prayer. Becky and Danielle say,

> "I was seeing suffering so closely for the first time. That was a very challenging time. I did a lot of prayer and reading the Bible and, listening, that was a real time of listening and saying God I don't know the answer, tell me". (Becky, past volunteer)

> "We were working one day at one of the building projects and Caleb hadn't eaten and the school gave us some bread and he scoffed down nine pieces of bread like he'd never seen food before. Then ate it off the floor, and I was like this is just awful, but then that evening we prayed. I read the Bible. What the Bible says and what God says about poor people, like they will get just rewards and stuff. How it just says those who are poor on earth now will have rich rewards I just think if it wasn't with a Christian charity, I would be going mad". (Danielle, past volunteer)

Becky laments the poverty and suffering she witnessed and becomes unsettled when seeing this suffering as it seems to contradict her belief in a loving God. Yet, she also turns to her faith to process the challenges of seeing such poverty and injustice first-hand. Danielle mentions how she wouldn't be able to cope with witnessing the poverty and inequality without her faith, and for her the only hope for those living in poverty is through God and the rich rewards they will receive in heaven. Frequently, when the volunteers felt overwhelmed with various situations, they were able to draw upon their religious values concerning eschatology (i.e. the final events of history), for comfort. Volunteers described how they knew God had a plan, and that God had taken action on worldwide poverty. Further, for these volunteers, it became increasingly important throughout their placement that God was a God of compassion and justice, who cared deeply about, and lamented, the brokenness of the world and would bring about change upon Jesus's future return. Through drawing on these religious narratives of a broken world and a future return of Jesus where the brokenness would be restored, the volunteers were able to make sense of the poverty and inequality they witnessed.

The faith of the volunteers also influences their formal learning about poverty and development. Many international volunteering projects have previously been critiqued for not having an explicit pedagogical strategy, but instead rely on incidental encounters to bring about these transformations and learning (Devereux 2008; Simpson 2004). As such, sending organisations such as Amare, are beginning to develop social justice pedagogy (Diprose, 2012), which has the potential to inform volunteers on the complexities of development. The materials distributed by Amare included blog style articles addressing issues such as climate change, gender equality, HIV and AIDS, food security and ethical consumerism, most containing references to Bible passages of relevance. These materials provided a space for reflection and a chance to understand and become active in combating the root causes of poverty and injustice. However, some of the volunteers became less interested in the pedagogical materials, favouring to plan and prepare their own group Bible studies, owing to a lack of

personal faith growth-oriented information. In this sense, the spiritual capital of the volunteers seemingly reduced their desire for critical international development engagement and the volunteer placement became more about a personal spiritual growth journey. As such, it could be argued that the volunteers missed the opportunity to gain a fuller and deeper appreciation of poverty and its realities of disease, hunger, oppression and death and subsequently how to address these issues during their placement and in their daily lives.

### 8.1.2: Poor but Happy

When reflecting on the volunteer programmes, it was common to hear the volunteers use the phrase "not as poor as I thought they'd be" (ethnographic observation), when referring to those they had met in Tanzania. Such comments could be located in current trends within international development charities, where there has been an effort to move away from pitying stereotypes of Africa (or other 'developing' nations) that display the continent as poor, inferior and helpless. For instance, in popular culture, a collection of mostly British and Irish Musicians formed a group in 1984, entitled Band Aid, who released a song, '*Do they Know It's Christmas*?' to raise money for anti-famine efforts in Ethiopia. Since then, the song has received considerable reproach for the way it represents Africa as poor, ignorant, homogenous and barren (such as in the documentary *Poverty Inc*; 2014). Further, the 2019 Stacey Dooley, David Lammy and Comic Relief debates inspired sets of conversations about the way African countries are presented in the media and whether this is adequately showing the joys and emerging wealth in these countries, as well as the challenges and poverty. As such, many organisations have altered the languages they use and materials they publish to avoid such stereotypes, and the volunteer's responses could mirror these changes.

However, another level could be observed where the volunteers commonly referred to the spiritual richness of the people they met whilst volunteering. Naomi for instance, acknowledges the poverty and suffering of those she has met in Tanzania, yet describes her amazement that through this poverty they are able to know God better. She draws a comparison between the Christians in Tanzania and those she knows back home, displaying admiration for the Christians in Tanzania who are seemingly closer to God than those in the UK. She states,

> "that dependency has just drawn them a lot closer, they don't hold him [God] at arms length like we do. Its just a completely different life perspective, not that it's a good thing they are suffering. But its an amazing thing because they know God more" (Naomi, volunteer, in-country interview)

Harriet also shows admiration for the joy of the Christians she met whilst volunteering, causing her to see areas in her life where she experiences poverty. She states;

> "Poverty is a lack of wealth that appears to destroy lives, structures that some people find themselves in, something that people find deep joy in despite it. I was really struck by the deep joy of the Christians out there. Spiritually they are extraordinarily rich, much richer than I am. Poor in worldly material terms, but not spiritually". (Harriet, past volunteer)

Acknowledging this spiritual richness had varied effects on the volunteers. For some like Harriet, it reduced a pitying northern superiority notion (Simpson 2004; Tiessen and Kumar 2013). For Barth (1969), interpreting poverty as a marker of difference where comparative superiority is implied is dangerous as it perpetuates 'us' and 'them' narratives. Understanding poverty as more than material has the potential to reduce this danger, as poverty is not something that is externalised 'out there', but can be seen in one's own nation and in one's self. Such markers of difference are thereby reduced. From Naomi and Harriet's quotes, we can see how some aspects of life in Tanzania are seen more favourably than life in the UK. Volunteers recast themselves as materially advantaged, yet spiritually less fulfilled.

Harriet's comment reflects Arneil's (2007) conceptualisation of global citizenship discussed in Chapter 3, reflecting a process towards equality. Through volunteering, Harriet realises her own poverty and displays admiration for the Christians she meets in Tanzania. Here there is an absence of a northern superiority mind-set; rather there is equality, humility and admiration and a willingness and desire to learn from this contentment. Acknowledging the many ways poverty can be manifested, not just materially, but also spiritually, built respect and humbled the volunteers. The volunteers saw the ways their lives were lacking, as well as the many ways they could learn from those they met in Tanzania. It helped the volunteers to see other cultural values and ways of living, and to appreciate the complexity and richness of the culture of others.

However, this acknowledgement of a spiritual richness caused other volunteers to overlook or downplay the material poverty and injustices they saw, so much so that they did not seem to exist anymore. Because those they met were spiritually rich, it led to the evident poverty and inequalities being overlooked. In this way, the volunteers engaged less in thinking about the poverty and injustice, and were perhaps less engaged in asking questions and tackling this poverty. Such ideas can be demonstrated by the quotes from Phoebe and Will below.

> "because obviously everyone does the classic, you know, how does God allow suffering, and then I think you just have to, kind of, look past the obvious. They are poor. They've got no house. They've got eight kids that they can't really feed. You have to look past that and see that actually they're so happy. They've got such a good sense of community. A lot of them love their church" (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "I think it been a help in the way Charity lives knowing God has a plan and God does see she has suffered and He's been there throughout it. She can rely on Him. To us it feels like they don't have much at all, but like most people probably have enough to go on. And if they don't, the Christians do have God and it's been helpful to remember He is enough for people when you don't have physical things. They're so content with what they've got, this isn't a materialistic culture so they don't feel like they need stuff that we do" (Will, past volunteer)

Through Phoebe and Will's quotes we can see how this perceived spiritual richness that the volunteers see in those they meet in Tanzania causes them to overlook or downplay the poverty and real struggles these people go through. Phoebe speaks of looking past the struggles of the parents to feed the children, instead focussing on their connection to the community and church. She bypasses the lament of how can God allow suffering, choosing to ignore the evident poverty with a local family who cannot

feed their children. Here the poor but happy narrative becomes a defensive strategy where Phoebe can change the way she interprets poverty and inequality to render it less threatening and personally upsetting (see also Schwarz, 2015; Crossley, 2012). If the volunteers convince themselves that those living in material poverty and experiencing the consequences of global inequality and oppression are content, they are less likely to acknowledge and challenge their own privileges and benefits produced from a world economy that has produced this poverty and inequality (Taylor, 1989).

Will speaks of a woman named Charity who had survived FGM as a child and forced into marriage at a young age. Her husband, who is much older than her, does not permit her to return to school after having their first child. It is interesting to see how Will says it's been a help for him to know that God is there for Charity, rather than knowing if Charity finds it a help that God is there and has a plan. In this way, the 'poor but happy' narrative can become a self-preservation method for the volunteers where they can detach themselves from any personal implications in the power structures causing the witnessed poverty (Solomon et al, 2005; Heron, 2007). Such notions are also dangerous where, because these individuals are poor but happy and have God as their comfort, poverty is waved away and there is no need to change the situation, nor any action for the volunteers to take (see also Bourn and Brown, 2011). Bigger systematic issues of oppression, exploitation and injustice are obscured by the happiness and spirituality of the individuals and the volunteers are excused from any complicity in these systems.

However, this observation also needs to be considered alongside the idea that many Christians sincerely believe, and strive to live, that God is enough in their lives. Indeed, Saint Paul writes in his letter to the Philippians that he has "learned the secret of being content in any and every situation, whether well fed or hungry, whether living in plenty or in want. I can do this through him who gives me strength" (The Holy Bible). Despite this, through Will and Phoebe's quotes we can see that to a certain extent, the volunteers are overlooking the poverty and injustices evident in the different circumstances due to the perceived spiritual richness of those they meet. In this sense, this thesis argues that the 'poor but happy' narrative is reproduced in Christian international volunteering (Crossley, 2012; Simpson, 2004; Griffiths and Brown, 2017; Bourn and Brown, 2011), but through a spiritual lens. In a way, this can bring many merits in that it reduces this 'us' and 'them' superiority mindset and aids the volunteers in building respect for the host communities. Yet there is also a danger when real injustices are overlooked and a lack of engagement follows.

### 8.1.3: Fluid Faith: Tensions and Contradictions

This research not only explored how faith shapes the volunteer experience, but how the volunteer experience shapes the faith of the volunteers, an element of the volunteer programmes that many FBOs highlighted as an area of interest to them. During volunteer programmes, individuals often expect to experience personal growth when volunteering in an unfamiliar setting (Frontani and Taylor 2009), and for religious volunteers this was also apparent, but it was manifested in a growth in their faith or "relationship with God" (Nicola, past volunteer). Many volunteers faced difficulties as they began seeing and hearing stories of those living in extreme poverty that sometimes caused them to question elements of their faith, and the characteristics of their God. Such struggles can be seen in Becky and Sophie's quotes,

> "I think that week I really wrestled with, why that was the case, why did these people who are so lovely, and these children, why are they all born into such extreme poverty. Basically that question, why does God allow suffering? Why does my loving God allow suffering? I spoke to the church leaders and spent a lot of time in prayer, just asking God how this could be" (Becky, past volunteer)

> "its really sad, we know that God doesn't like it, but one day he'll come back and make a stop to really wrong things like that [FGM]. So I guess thinking about it was like, ohhh, how can that be right, but I know she's not the only one, there's hundreds like her across the world. I guess there was initial doubt, like how can that be right, so I guess an initial doubt, like why would God let that happen. But then you have to remember what I was saying" (Sophie, volunteer, in-country interview)

Here we can see the volunteers grappling with apparent contradictions in their held interpretations of the world. Becky and Sophie's quotes show a struggle in faith, expressing doubt in what they knew about their God. There was a tension between the poverty they were seeing and their faith, where they felt these two were at odds with one another. Becky asks, how could her loving God allow such suffering to happen, and Sophie speaks about how she initially had doubts in her faith when meeting a survivor of FGM. However, through drawing on the aforementioned 'hopeful future' narratives and 'present help' practices, we can see how Sophie and Becky were able to grapple with the poverty they were witnessing and make sense of it in relation to their faith. This can also be seen in the following ethnographic observation.

> "Today we were chatting to Charity [a local lady] about the traditions the various tribes have here. She said her tribe practised FGM and forced early marriage. We were all so shocked and upset as we had been working with her for 8 weeks now and never knew. One of the girls got up crying and walked away. I followed her and we spoke about how our God could allow this to happen to Charity. During a time of prayer the volunteer spoke to God about her feelings, thanked God that He would be upset too, she prayed these traditions would end. She spoke about knowing this world is broken because of sin so bad things happen, but rejoiced knowing she had a powerful God who could and would bring an end to these traditions" (Author's ethnographic observation, 14/02/2018)

For these participants, it was only through their faith that they could make sense of the poverty they were witnessing. For Ffion, she acknowledged that this would is broken, but that God will reverse these wrongs, and as such, she was able to continue in her faith whilst witnessing this global poverty. Many participants spoke of a renewed appreciation that their God was a God of justice, who cared for the poor. Such notions caused many volunteers to rejoice in their faith and register an affirming and strengthening of their faith. Here we can see evidence for the fluidity of faith. Faith is not something that is static, but is capable of being challenged and regressing, yet also strengthening and evolving. For many volunteers, the relationship between God and poverty or justice was an area of their faith they had not previously explored and views of God altered through their time volunteering.

### 8.1.4: Fluid Faith: Resilience and Growth

Fee and Gray (2011) report that three quarters of their long-term volunteers voiced an enhancement of personal growth, through cultural experiences that varied from their own. This was also seen in this research, yet through a religious context, with the majority of respondents mentioning an enhancement of their faith. Factors attributed to this included learning to rely on God and trust Him in unfamiliar environments, and being part of a global Christian community, where the volunteers learned from the faith of each other, but also from that of the local people. Ffion and Danielle explain,

> "I think being in an environment where we can just kind of openly talk about faith… Having to really, learn how to rely on God in a place where I'm not used to relying on God, even the work we were doing was stuff I didn't feel comfortable doing. So, at the start I really learnt to trust in God. I've learnt a lot about God, I've learnt a lot about relying on his promises and not on my feelings. " (Ffion, volunteer, in-country interview)

> "When you're out there you have to rely on your faith a lot more than at home because at home you have all the resources you need. But when you're out there, even like people in Tanzania have really strong faith because they have to rely on it more and they see it impact their life more. We were more dependent on it. It made all of us a lot stronger in our faith" (Danielle, past volunteer)

Through these quotes, we can see that the faith of the volunteers was strengthened by numerous means. Firstly, doing activities that were out of their comfort zone where they felt they had to trust in God to help them. It was common for volunteers to use language such as 'relying on God' or 'leaning on God' to describe how they dealt with tasks that felt unfamiliar and uncomfortable for them, such as when teaching a class of 60 pupils. Moreover, through being in an environment where they met other Christians and were immersed in the Christian community of both their team, but also their links with the local church, they were able to act out their religious subjectivities to a greater extent than in their daily lives at home. The practice of fundraising also enhanced the volunteers' spiritual capital. Volunteers commented that it helped them to rely on God, and they grew in their faith through seeing God provide, often through formal or informal religious networks. Consider Naomi, who said,

> "God really blew me out the water straight away with it because I hate asking for money but you kind of couldn't do it without it. I did the walking week… and then one coffee morning last weekend. Just those two but God is incredible through it, so I'm like 'thank you father'" (Noami, volunteer, pre-placement interview).

Through Naomi's comment, we can see the fluidity of faith. Faith is not something that is static, but is constantly changing, and in this instance, the fundraising element of international volunteering caused Naomi to acknowledge a strengthening and confirming of her faith.

Hopkins et al (2015) also found that volunteers experienced a growth in their faith during their time volunteering. For their respondents, the volunteering led them to feel more confident, self-assured and generally resilient about their religious identities. For these participants, a central component of this faith growth was the daily devotionals where group members would read the Bible, reflect, and

discuss, the teachings of the Bible. In this study, other elements of the volunteer experience, such as encounters with unknown people, places and experiences, lead to an acknowledgement of personal faith growth. This research thus suggests that time volunteering can have many multifaceted effects on the faith of the volunteers, but mostly expressed in an overall upward trajectory. Kathryn for instance, speaks about not feeling like she had much of a faith before her time volunteering, yet due to the things she experienced whilst volunteering, she registers a growth in faith.

> "I wouldn't have said I had a faith when I went. I would say I had more of a faith when I left. I think maybe I would be a bit sceptical beforehand, like I wasn't really sure but when I saw everything that was going on. I started going back to church after. I think I felt a bit selfish maybe I think you could really see how much they had, I think it was quite striking, we can say we have a lot of faith here but we also have a lot of security blanket, but they don't have that security blanket so were very much relying on prayer. It shocked me a bit, they were giving things even though they barely had anything. I realised that I wasn't being as trusting as I could be, trusting in God." (Kathryn, volunteer, in-country interview)

For Kathryn, the faith of those she met in Tanzania inspired her to return to church and reconsider her worldview about her faith. This again reveals the fluidity of faith and the place volunteering internationally can have on this fluidity. As we have seen through this section, volunteers commonly report an affirming and strengthening of their faith, despite going through periods of doubt and struggles. For some of the volunteers, they expected an almost magical moment where they would suddenly become mature in their faith and feel close to God. However, throughout the volunteer placement they became aware that they were still the same people and God was the same God, it was just their context that had changed. It then became apparent that this magical moment was not going to happen and some volunteers felt disappointed. This finding is particularly interesting as it reveals something about how volunteer placements are perceived by young people. As we saw in Chapter 5, the volunteers are often motivated to volunteer for personal faith growth reasons, and desire a magical moment of faith growth. Whilst this magical moment might not happen, many do still register an affirming and strengthening of their faith.

In many ways, these findings support the research conducted by Sin (2009). In this, she comments that what a volunteer "takes out of his or her experience often results from a complex interplay between his or her original motivations, the specific context of volunteer work, and the composition of the volunteer team" (Sin, 2009, 483). Here we see that many volunteers are motivated by faith, spending their time in a team of other young Christians, undertaking activities with the local church in a country that registers higher levels of Christianity than they experience at home. As such, it is perhaps not surprising that many volunteers register an affirming of their faith.

### 8.1.4: Religious and Spiritual Capital

Through this section, we can see that the volunteers often place a more significant emphasis on spiritual capital than religious capital. Volunteers frequently spoke about growing in their own personal relationship with God or in their belief system. Here we see volunteers speaking about a transformation and learning about themselves, God and their Christian faith. Such ideas resonate with the spiritual capital conceptualisations of Baker and Skinner (2006) where ideas, beliefs and personal

transformations are central to this form of capital. Throughout this research, I frequently asked volunteers what the benefit of volunteering internationally was. This was left intentionally obscure, to understand where the volunteers felt the benefit lay, with themselves and/or the host organisation. Responses here were mixed, but generally the volunteers spoke about the benefits of volunteering for themselves and their own personal transformation. Whilst this was not the case throughout all the interview material, generally, it showed that a higher emphasis was placed on what they gained personally, than on what they gave to society.

This could perhaps be seen as a nuanced understand of volunteering where it is difficult to contribute significantly to a community you have little knowledge of, but could also show how volunteering is largely an activity done for the self, even if elements of helping others is part of it. However, it does reveal a potentially challenging element of volunteering internationally, where motivations and benefits are spoken about mostly in relation to one's personal spiritual journey and the practice is undertaken to improve one's own spiritual capital. This finding contributes to emerging trends within international volunteering for development studies where findings reveal volunteering is often undertaken to benefits one's self (Lyons et al, 2012, Sin, 2011; Palacios, 2010; Wearing and McGehee, 2013, Ansell, 2008; Sherraden et al, 2008; Jones, 2011).

### 8.1.5: Fluid Faith: Perspectives from Sollus

Helping enhance the spiritual capital of the volunteers was also a motive of the local organisations for hosting the volunteers. Consider, the remarks of George and Nathaniel,

> "You [volunteers] learn how to depend on God, it strengthens faith. You come here and you've never experienced illness like here. You don't have a good clinic to go to. I need you [God]. I need you now, in the process you're growing in faith." (George, Sollus)

> "We feel we need them [the volunteers]. I have seen those who have testified that this has been a special time for their faith, you can see in their eyes it has changed. I thank God that they came." (Nathaniel, Sollus)

George and Nathaniel describe here one of the reasons they decided to host volunteers. In this, they were eager to help the volunteers grow in their faith and help them realise their calling or future ministry work. Phrases such as 'family of God' were frequently used. They believed that all Christians can learn from one another in the global faith community and it is imperative for all to participate in this. The rational for these volunteer placements was very relational, sharing and learning from each other with regards to faith. Here we can see resonances with ideas of religious capital. For Baker and Skinner (2006), a key part of religious capital is the building and maintenance of networks. We can see, through George's quote, that they choose to host volunteers as they believe it could inspire people within the family of God to go into further ministry work that would benefit the wider global church.

In this, we can see connections between spiritual and religious capital. For Sollus, investing in the spiritual capital of the volunteers is a way of investing in the religious capital of the wider global church. To explain further, if these volunteers grow in their faith during their time overseas, it is more

likely they could pursue long-term mission work in the future, and thus increasingly contribute to the growth of global Christianity. For many FBOs, seeking converts may not be an explicit part of their activities, yet for many it would be a desirable goal. Here we can see that through investing in these young volunteers, Sollus are hoping to inspire them to continue serving their community and the wider global church.

Further, in being able to help the spiritual capital of these volunteers, the host organisation is empowered, as they are able to also take on the status of 'giver' and 'teacher', and not solely the 'receiver' of the volunteers help, thereby reducing north-south power imbalances. For Griffiths and Brown (2017) relationships and bonds created through volunteering programmes are always foreshadowed by a persistent inequality between 'them' and 'us', where any affection is based on helping the needs of the hosts. Whilst this research did not find a complete absence or reversal of 'us' and 'them' narratives, it does seem that by helping to encourage the volunteers in their faith, Sollus were able to be the 'teacher' or 'giver'. This finding speaks back to many criticisms of international volunteering that these practices position the volunteer as the expert, giver and teacher, with the host organisation in the disempowered position of receiver (Simpson, 2004, Ansell, 2008). Rather, by helping the volunteers grow in their spiritual capital, the host organisation is empowered and able to contribute significantly to the lives of the volunteers.

Understanding the perspectives of the host organisation was a key point of investigation for this research, however the data collected was not sufficient to understand how the faith of Sollus was influenced by hosting the volunteer teams. Whilst members of Sollus mentioned enjoying hosting volunteers and building relationships with them, using the family of God and global church narratives as seen in Chapter 6, I did not gain enough responses as to how their personal of collective faith had been influenced by the exchanges with the volunteer teams. However, this would have complemented the above findings and this thesis suggests that this would be a worthy point of future research, as it would shed further light into the way faith shapes international volunteering pursuits and what contributions it can make to the communities visited.

## 8.2: Prayer

### 8.2.1: Introducing Prayer and Quiet Activisms

Over the past two chapters we have explored how volunteers 'make sense' of poverty and understand their global citizenship. Now this thesis turns to explore how the volunteers become active and engaged in their global citizenships and in addressing this poverty. As such, I now analyse specifically the practice of prayer within faith-based international volunteering, relating it to emerging work on quiet politics and quiet activisms (Pottinger, 2017; Askins, 2015; Martin et al, 2007). Ultimately, I argue that prayer is not a way volunteers avoid engaging with the injustices in the world, but rather it is a way they re-imagine the world, their position within it, and forms a crucial way they tackle these injustices. Firstly, I give a brief delineation of the practice of prayer and surrounding academic discussions about prayer. Following that, I show how my research builds on these academic discussions, focussing specifically on how prayer forms a way volunteers becoming politically active and resist the injustices they witness during their volunteer placement. This is often displayed in quieter ways to traditional noisy political activism. This thesis makes the case that prayer should not be dismissed as insignificant, and that it is worthy of academic attention. As a note, this section is not

intended to be a theological discussion on the effectiveness of prayer, but rather takes the stance that the volunteers believe prayer to be effective and because of this belief they chose to practise their activism through the medium of prayer, thus making it worthy of academic attention.

In a rudimentary sense, prayer has been outlined as the "thoughts, attitudes, and actions designed to express or experience connection to the sacred" (McCullough and Larson 1999:86), and is perceived by many religious people as their "vehicle for communication with God" (Matthews and Clarke 1999: 198). However, conceptualisations of prayer have varied and evolved over time, with more recent discussions situating the production, appropriation and consumption of prayer in socio-political contexts (Debele, 2018). The privacy and inwardness of prayer has been challenged, and individual and collective prayer has been found to have social roots (Mauss et al, 2003) and not be solely focussed on the personal and spiritual needs of the praying individual. The political dimensions of prayer have also been explored, such as how prayers can be used to develop and deliver political messages (Burack, 2014; Debele, 2018; Chan and Law 2013). Prayers have also been interpreted as a means through which people, other than powerful politicians or educated elites, can gain access to political thoughts, and make sense of, and respond to, their socio-political conditions (Debele, 2018). Prayer is thus central in the everyday micropolitics of those involved, and power is manifest within it and as such, some have deemed it 'inherently political in nature' (Tan, 2014; 367). Here prayer provides a site for challenging the dominant narratives of the status quo, and the embodied nature of prayer, even private prayer, has wider implications than for just the individual at prayer (ibid). In this embodiment, the tendency to focus solely on the mind or thought processes during prayer, and forget the physical body, is dismissed. Prayer then is not simply a departure from material structures.

Rather, the mind and the body are simultaneously involved during prayer, and this involvement of the body is crucial in knowledge production (Merleau-Ponty, 2013). Tan (2014) suggests that in daily life, corporeal engagements, such as shaking another's hand leaves imprints on our bodies. These imprints form and inform our mind and thought processes, often unconsciously. In this sense, knowledge creation is intimately linked with the embodied practice of prayer. For Christians, both conscious and unconscious thoughts from the mind are brought before God and thus prayer is public, as the individual and God are constantly in communion, and the prayers are situated within a wider body of Christ. For Tan (2014), this means that prayer is inherently political, not just because prayer can inspire political action, but because prayer is a political action in and of itself, as it acknowledges a belonging to a public body. Debele (2018) contends that prayers become a way whereby the everyday citizen can perform their political subjectivities, and should not be considered separate from political life. Rather, prayer and politics are co-constitutive.

Within geography, greater attention has recently been paid to the ideas of 'quiet politics' and 'quiet activism' where politically significant actions are manifested in banal, everyday practices. This work pushes back against the emphasis social scientists have placed on particular kinds of activism, generally those that are noisy, heroic, and staged (Horton and Kraftl, 2009). Much of this work builds on the pioneering work of Hanisch (1970) whose essay entitled 'The Personal is Political' fuelled discussions that explored the link between the personal and political. Further, many have noted a discomfort with the inflexibility of the traditional 'activist' identity, which is viewed as incompatible with everyday life and beyond the reach of those who are deeply committed to a cause (Brown 2007; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). Since then, a range of research has focussed on the quiet activisms

and quiet politics of seed saving (Pottinger, 2017), urban yarn bombing (Mann, 2015), small acts and kind words (Horton and Kraftl, 2009), social infrastructures of care (Hall, 2018) and befriending schemes with refugees (Askins, 2015). Such quiet activisms relate to what Horton and Kraftl (2009) term 'implicit activisms'. These implicit activisms extend what is classified as activism by displaying the ways that 'everyday, affective bonds and acts can ultimately constitute political activism and commitment, albeit of a kind which seeks to proceed with 'not too much fuss"' (Horton and Kraftl, 2009, 14).

International volunteering has been critiqued for a lack of political engagement, and the activities have been rebuked for doing little to help, and possibly even damage, the communities the volunteers travel to (Zane, 2016; Jefferess; 2008). This thesis responds and contributes to such discussions by describing the practice and context of prayer as inherently political and argues that the prayers of the volunteers should not be dismissed as trivial or apolitical. The prayers of the volunteers are purposeful and not passive; and are therefore worthy of academic attention. Martin et al (2007) question what classifies as political activism, and this thesis revisits this question, positioning prayer as a crucial form of political activism involved in Christian international volunteering. The daily, embodied, practice of prayer heralds progressive and transformative socio-political goals, but is not necessarily linked to any obvious political campaign. Prayer thus extends the realm of the political, and can be classified as an act which is 'affirmative and potentially transformative', yet 'modest, quotidian and proceeding with little fanfare' (Horton and Kraftl, 2009; 14).

### 8.2.2: Transformative Prayer

Prayer between the volunteers was a common activity and they frequently used the phrase "break my heart for what breaks yours". In this, the volunteers were seeking for God to reposition them in the world and reveal areas in their lives that could be changed and transformed, to lessen their negative impact on others around the world. For instance, the volunteers made commitments to investigate the origins of products they purchased, such as their clothes, food and mobile phones. During times of group prayer, the volunteers also pleaded with God for forgiveness, and asked Him to reveal ways their lives needed change, in order to avoid negative impacts on others. Prayers were not just a way of externalising global issues, they were also inward looking, as volunteers became increasingly critical of their place in the world, and their past or current actions. They repented of their sinfulness and brokenness, sought reconciliation with God and with others, and resolved to change their actions and values.

Further, through prayer, the volunteers also became socially active in advocating for the rights of those in Tanzania. Here we see the significance of prayer as a form religious capital that the volunteers draw on to confront injustices (Baker and Skinner, 2006). To illustrate, consider the excerpt from an interview with Naomi. She comments:

> "…you realise how much you can do something about it [poverty and injustice] by praying. It might seem like all I can do is pray, but actually that is so powerful. (Naomi, in-country interview)

Naomi's practice of prayer, a seemingly banal everyday activity displays a form of quiet politics and quiet activism (Askins, 2015; Pottinger, 2017; Hall, 2018). For these Christian volunteers, the acknowledgement that both prayer and God are powerful motivates them to practise their political subjectivities through their religiosity, frequently displayed in quieter ways to the traditional noisy and disruptive political actions (Hall, 2018). Prayer is perceived as an important way of transforming society by building resistance to injustices and inequalities. Here prayer should not be dismissed as apolitical or trivial; rather, the prayers of the volunteers were purposeful, seeking to challenge the status quo that has allowed global poverty and inequality to exist, and pursuing new and transformative socio-political goals. The volunteers were frequently requesting that God interceded for a certain person or issue, imploring that He "bring his kingdom on earth" and thereby end worldwide poverty and inequality. Here we see how prayer was often used by the volunteers as a means of transforming society and seeking alternative political possibilities.

The prayers of the volunteers were open to improvisation, and each volunteer could select a theme reflecting their thoughts and desires. Prayer times were open and reflective, with many moments of silence, where volunteers contemplated their thoughts and formed their prayers. Prayer was a frequent activity, sometimes planned, but sometimes spontaneous, after the volunteers had experienced something particularly joyful or upsetting. In these moments, they turned to God and to one another, and praised God, or lamented, expressed their concerns and requested change. For the volunteers, prayer had real power. In the act of praying, they believed they could influence God's actions, who in turn could influence theirs. Prayer was thus relational, influencing themselves, each other, and God. To these volunteers, governments may come and go, but God has the ultimate power, and controls the events of history. Katie asserts,

> "Through prayer, it's difficult when you know you're so limited in what you can do, but God is so limitless in what He is able to do. So I had to pray about a lot of things and say God I know that's not right, but you know, I know you can change that situation" (Katie, volunteer, in-country interview)

Prayer formed a site of everyday resistance where the volunteers could challenge the social order of the time. The volunteers brought the desires of their hearts to a powerful God, who is perceived as participating in their prayers. Prayer became a means by which the volunteers struggled for the rights of 'distant others' (see also Werbner, 2016). Prayers for peace, justice, freedom and liberation were common, and the volunteers showed God they were broken-hearted by certain injustices. In this way, the actions of the volunteers could be synonymous to those of one who writes a letter to their MP, as a way of expressing their discontent and call for action. Ed, Katie and Phoebe comment,

> "There is this thing in you when you see someone in need, you want to help and do something. There was a lot of times things like that happened, and as a team we would pray it out. How else would we combat this?" (Ed, past volunteer)

> "I think it's portrayed that if you go out there to volunteer you have so much to offer, but when you're in that context actually I'm not going to change the world. All I can do is support these people, encourage and pray with them, and build relationships. I think as

well, as much as that is totally an amazing thing to see, it's also quite hard for you to be like actually this isn't me, this is God" (Katie, past volunteer)

"At the dinner table we do highlight of the day and a prayer point, and then we pray about the prayer points. My prayer point was for Grace that she'd go to school, and then that Friday the fact that she was going to school and I was like that's such an answer to prayer". (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

The volunteers plead with the divine, seeking a political shift, and transformation of the current state of affairs, that only He, as divine, can bring about. Prayer holds the possibility of restoration and deliverance from the challenging context, and the volunteers believe prayer can transform the world, and bring about a new and improved future. The volunteers recognise their own limitations to bring about change, yet pray to God, believing He has the power to bring this change. Phoebe shares about an instance where she was inspired to pray for the life of a child she met in Tanzania. She was upset that this child was unable to go to school and prayed for her. For Phoebe, prayer was a way she could act in this situation, knowing that God had the power to bring change. Through this, we can see how prayer becomes an important way volunteers become active in caring for the lives of those they meet in Tanzania.

Power, and acts of governance, are always involved in prayer. Many volunteers were open and willing to be used by God to bring about changes in their lives and the lives of others, and sought God's guidance on which situations and issues to become invested in whilst volunteering. This resonates with the notion of Bell (1992), who argues that 'rituals do not refer to politics… they *are* politics. Ritual is the thing itself. It *is* power; it acts and actuates' (Bell, 1992; 195). To illustrate, Kathryn comments,

"If you want to use me to change that situation, please do" (Kathryn, past volunteer)

Prayer revealed other political possibilities to the volunteers, those that challenged the dominant secular narratives that position religious forms of knowledge as optional and subjective for public life. For instance, volunteers became increasingly aware of Jubilee principles during their volunteer placement, and prayed that such principles would be taken up in everyday life. For some volunteers, Jubilee principles/economics, outlined in the Old Testament, formed a counter politics. In Jubilee principles, injustice, inequality and poverty would be reduced as each 50 years slaves are set free, debts wiped out and land redistributed, thereby reducing or halting inequalities, injustices and poverty. This new political possibility, and the awareness of an alternative world that aligns with the characteristics and values of God, was conjured through prayer. Through this, the volunteers were led to question the dominant political narratives that have allowed, caused or entrenched worldwide poverty and injustice, and became increasingly critical of them. In this, we can see how the volunteers' religious capital filters into the volunteer experience. As seen in Chapter 2, Baker and Skinner (2006) outline religious capital as theological language and thought that confronts philosophies and injustices by providing alternative norms and values to that of the prevailing status quo. By engaging with these Jubilee principles, the volunteers drew on religious narratives to provide an alternative to capitalist economies that have allowed global inequality to grow.

### 8.2.3: Prayer and Global Citizenship

International volunteering is commonly promoted as a way of developing global citizen or cosmopolitan notions. Through encounters with, and exposure to, cultures and peoples of difference, international volunteers can develop new global competencies and commitments, and become engaged in activism and lobbying for social change and global justice (Rovisco, 2009). Faith-based international volunteering has been noted to perpetuate ideas of a global community and shared humanity, rooted in faith (Baillie-Smith et al 2013). For these volunteers, the practice of prayer linked the volunteers across borders, as they utilised narratives of a 'family of God' or 'global church'. During visits to local churches and communities, the volunteers would join prayer meetings with those in the local community. During such times, each person would share a prayer request, thereby learning about each other's lives, and then seek God through prayer, to bring about change in certain situations. Here we can see the centrality of prayer for the religious capital of the volunteers and those in Tanzania. Prayer became a practical way the volunteers could contribute to public life, as well as a way networks and connections could be built in Tanzania. Prayer increased a sense of belonging to a shared religious community, building the religious capital of those involved. Harriet for instance states,

> "Our voluntary contribution was being a face that came and said hello, we're your sisters from the UK, let's pray together." (Harriet, 24, volunteer)

Harriet's expression of community and family resonate with ideas of global citizenship. For these volunteers, the presence of a global church and a common faith was a key motivator to express their global citizenship through volunteering. Prayer became the way many of the volunteers publicly justified their volunteer activities and measured their volunteer contribution. Making connections and relationships with those in the family of God was central to many of the volunteers, and in most instances reduced common 'us' and 'them' narratives. Meaningful encounters involving prayer helped the volunteers recognise similarity between themselves and those in Tanzania. This acknowledgement of commonality developed an openness to both difference and similarity amongst the volunteers (see also Parekh, 2003; Askins, 2015). Whilst it cannot be claimed that all volunteers had an openness to difference and experience shifts in stereotypes and understandings, the transformative potential of prayer in international volunteering schemes was evident with many volunteers exhibiting a shift in understandings around the other.

In line with this, Harriet also describes a desire to pray *together*, as opposed to praying *for,* those she met during her time volunteering. In this way, power imbalances are equalled, and the agency of the volunteer to bring about change receives less attention. There is an acknowledgment that God is the only one who can bring change, and everyone can participate in this intercession with God. Volunteers and the people they pray with are thus co-contributors to the delivery of change. God is responsible for not only the other, but for the volunteers themselves and the volunteers and Tanzanians are all under God's rule and created equal. The volunteers are therefore not responsible for those they meet whilst volunteering, and thereby ideas of northern rooted agency and power are unsettled, and new ideas of equality are produced. In the act of communal prayer, bonds are created, and the practice of prayer strengthens ties within the family of God. This resonates with Arneils's (2007) global citizenship conceptualisation, where global citizenship should be viewed as a process towards equality. It is never static, yet is always being created, contested and reformed (Staeheli, 2011). Here we can see how the

act of prayer in international volunteering plays a role in fostering notions of equality amongst the volunteers where familial references were commonly used and impact was not measured by what was built or donated, but rather in the time spent building relationships and sharing their common faith.

The act of praying *together*, as opposed to praying *for* speaks back to Jefferess's (2008) critiques of global citizenship. This critique centres around the inclusivity and exclusivity of global citizenship, where some with privilege and power can become global citizens through their ability to act and make a better world *for* others or make a difference. In this, I acknowledge the critiques that global citizenship in international volunteering could always be considered uneven, as it inevitably involves those who have the means of travelling and those who don't. On the one hand, volunteers do often begin with ideas of responsibility, notions of making a difference and a belief in their personal ability to bring about change, revealing this unequal global citizenship. However, there is another truth revealed here, where the act of prayer becomes a means the volunteers and those they meet in Tanzania, or as Jefferess's (2008) states 'the Other', make a better world *with* each other, rather than *for* each other. For these volunteers, God is the one who is able to bring about change in a situation and through praying, the volunteers and those they meet in Tanzania can be co-contributors for change in each other's lives. During times of prayer, both volunteers and locals in Tanzania shared prayer requests and everyone prayed with each other. Of course, this could again be critiqued in that it's the volunteer who travels to Tanzania in order to pray, yet beneath this critique is the indication that volunteering internationally, and specifically prayer within international volunteering, can go some way in fostering equality, togetherness and inclusivity.

The embodied nature of prayer was reflected in the actions of the volunteers, who commonly joined hands in prayer, raised their hands in prayer, or laid their hands onto others during times of prayer. This interaction of bodies, and bodily differences being traversed, renders prayer both personal and political (Hall, 2018). Such bodily features of prayer have the ability to reveal, establish or change power structures. For instance, the stretching of hands to others showed solidarity, and a belief that the power of God could be transferred through such an action. Volunteers would often open their hands, showing acceptance and welcome to God. This action reveals the power of God over the actions, thoughts and lives of the volunteers. Further, the volunteers would place their hands onto others, both other volunteers and the people in Tanzania, and similarly, locals in Tanzania would place their hands onto volunteers whilst praying for them. In this act, unity is established between those involved in this embodied act, with the potential of eradicating uneven power dynamics between the volunteers and those in Tanzania. Prayer then builds a politics of togetherness, belonging and close corporeality (see Hall, 2018; Askins, 2015; Pottinger, 2017). Such actions have the potential to subvert differences and distance, and can become tools to build trust and relationships.

This act of praying with others was also something host communities could reciprocate with the volunteers. Danielle describes an instance when she was struggling and people from the local church where able to come to her house and care for her through prayer. No longer was she positioned as the expert and the person who was bringing and contributing everything to the local church, rather she was the one in need of care and comfort. She shows how this was a moment where connections were made and feelings of 'brotherhood' and togetherness were fostered.

> "They cared about me and they could just come and sit with me, having a cup of tea with me. Praying with me. Encouraging me. This was such a beautiful moment and this deepened our relationship in such a beautiful way, because suddenly they could give me something back. I'm not the superior coming with knowledge and money, whatever, and I'm part of them and I also need help and support and I'm also just following Jesus as they do, and that was such a beautiful moment of brotherhood". (Danielle, past volunteer)

Here we see how prayer becomes a way host organisations can show compassion and care for volunteers. This small act of praying with others resonates with Horton and Kraftl (2009) who identify 'implicit activisms' as small acts and kind words. Such acts and words are examples of everyday political actions that go unnoticed, yet constitute significant political activism and commitment. Further, Jupp (2017) builds on Howard's (2014) idea of 'affective activisms' by exploring the political acts that focus on relationships and community building at the micro level of the household. The practice of communal prayer resonates with these discussions by displaying another low-key, intimate, activity that commonly goes unnoticed. Sharing prayer requests requires a certain level of openness and vulnerability as one allows another into their life, and such displays of care and intimacy foster relationships, commitment and belonging. The frequent act of praying provided a setting where meaningful connections could be made across borders, and which confirmed the existence of a transnational faith community in which shared values of equality, justice and liberation are recognised. The potential communal prayer has in fostering relationships of equality, intimacy and respect is illustrated in the following ethnographic observation and comment from Paul,

> "Today we visited a village the partners work in. We joined some of their Bible studies. One part was looking at Genesis and seeing how all people are created by God, and are important to Him. We talked and prayed about how that meant everyone had dignity and worth to God, and no one person is more important than the other" (Authors ethnographic reflection, 16/03/2018)

> "Because having you around, we have created a relationship, friendship, we are family" (Joseph, Sollus).

Prayer, alongside the notion that all Christians belong to the family of God, creates connections and social relations that transcend any cultural differences, and has the potential to reduce traditional 'north-south' power imbalances. Paul reveals that encounters through volunteering have transformative effects not only for the volunteer, but also for the communities that receive the volunteers. Despite cultural differences and physical distances, Paul acknowledges community and feelings of connection through the similarity of faith. The host organisation would frequently request prayers from the volunteers for the effectiveness of their community development projects, and ask that such prayer requests would be sent back to the home churches of the volunteers. John, for instance, states,

> "Pray for the project that we have can help people to know Jesus. That's a good thing. It's my ambition. Also, pray that the project that are going to the community that they will be well received and the community have a sense of ownership, feel like they own that project." (John, volunteer host organisation)

Following such requests, the volunteers would then compile emails, letters, social media posts or blogs containing the prayer requests given by the host organisation. In this way, local-to-local connections are made across boundaries, as the acquaintances of the volunteers become involved in the prayers and lives of those in Tanzania. Physical borders are overcome through prayer, as it provides a means for trans-local connections to be forged within the social network of the family of God. In this family of God, people who live in different locations are still perceived as belonging to one social unit. Through the dissemination of prayer requests, the volunteering placements allow global citizenships and cosmopolitanisms to be developed by those not directly involved in the volunteer placement, thereby encouraging these individuals to reconsider their lives, values and actions in relation to those around the world. Further, prayer is also a place where northern global citizenships encounter southern global citizenships, which seeks to further unsettle power dimensions and superiority/inferiority notions. During times of prayer, both volunteers and the people of Tanzania requested topics of prayer, and everyone was able to bring the needs of the others to God. Prayer created an affective bond, causing everyone involved to care for the lives of others. Prayer became a way small acts of kindness were extended by both volunteers and those in Tanzania, constituting a form of quiet activism centred on community and care (Horton and Kraftl, 2009; Askins, 2015).

The volunteers' prayers were not only directed to issues in Tanzania, but also in their home countries. For Tanzania, the volunteers raised issues including gender inequality, education, malnutrition and heath care. In their prayers for their home countries, the volunteers spoke of climate change, consumerism and materialism. Most volunteers acknowledged an interweaving of the local and global, and showed increased recognition that actions taken in their home country can significantly influence the lives of those around the world. During times of prayer, volunteers would become aware of how their own everyday actions, such as the mobile phones they purchased, could have negatively affected the lives of others. This speaks back to certain criticisms of global citizenship which argue that global citizenship can focus on the poor 'out there', rather than addressing structural injustices and inequalities that can be proliferated 'here' (Jefferess, 2008).

Baillie-Smith et al (2013) questions the idea that international volunteering creates new global citizenships by revealing how international volunteering establishes a setting where already acquired global citizenships can be lived out (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013). Further, they question static conceptualisations of global citizenship that disregard its fluidity. Rather, global citizenship is always being formed and re-formed. Sophie for instance comments,

> "I came here and was like I'm going to have a big impact with everything I do, but actually I've realised that maybe my impact here isn't very big, but if I ask questions and I find out what's the education system like. What challenges people are facing? Those kinds of questions then I can go back to the UK. I'm so much more knowledgeable of inequality in the world. I'm so much more setup to know how to continue to pray, to continue to help". (Sophie, past volunteer)

Initially the volunteer placement was an arena for Sophie to act out her global citizen subjectivities and make an impact. However, her ideas around what constituted impact changed throughout her time volunteering. She begins to see the value of learning about issues such as education and health, and this information was used to inform her prayers. She acknowledges prayer as the overarching way

she can play a part in reducing the world's inequalities. Initially Sophie's global citizenship expression was about what she could do, but this changed to how she could pray. This supports Staeheli's (2011) idea that global citizenship is fluid and ever-changing and demonstrates how prayer becomes an increasingly important expression of the volunteers' global citizenship.

### 8.2.4: Problematising Prayer

Despite prayer becoming a significant and meaningful way volunteers developed and expressed their global citizenship and became politically active, this was, in some regards, limited. For instance, prayer went some way in reducing power imbalances, and decreasing the emphasis on the agency of the giver (Jefferess, 2007), yet there were instances when this was not the case. For example, prayer was sometimes mentioned in relation to donating money and helping, reflecting softer forms of global citizenship that do not acknowledge root causes of injustices and focus on the agency of the person at prayer. Thus, we cannot interpret the prayers of volunteers as either a complete support, or complete rejection of prevailing development discourses. Further, colonially rooted western responsibility notions for the 'other' were sometimes reproduced through a spiritual lens. For Katie, her motivation to volunteer centred on biblical charges to care for the poor.

> "I was just seeing the words in the Bible about serving the poor, loving your neighbour, and faith without works is dead. So I was thinking okay there's so much of my active faith that I am not living out" (Katie, past volunteer)

For Katie, the poor that she desires to serve are those in Tanzania, and to become active in her faith requires travelling away from the UK, and outside of herself. Whilst volunteers do show many forms of activism that seek to subvert the power structures entrenching injustices and inequality, to some extent their comments also revealed a complicity. This idea is also reflected in the work of Debele (2018) who acknowledges the 'Janus-Face' nature of many prayers, where prayers 'maintain the structures of power all at once even when they appear to express defiance and subversion' (Debele, 2018; 367). Katie's comment also focusses on herself, and her ability to bring change, thus reflecting the criticisms of Jefferess (2008) and Biccum (2007) who allude to the possibility that active forms of global citizenship, such as volunteering, have in emphasising the capacity of the individuals to bring change, at the expense of promoting projects of justice. Further, activist statements did not always translate into action. Victoria for instance, comments on her return to the UK that,

> "I haven't prayed for people as much as I wanted to" (Victoria, volunteer, post-placement interview)

A certain level of waning engagement and activism can be expected post placement when the volunteers transition back to the UK. Yet, this point emphasises the limits of prayer as quiet activisms, showing their fluidity and capacity to regress. This reinforces the findings of Horton and Kraftl (2009) who reveal how quiet activisms did not assure any progression towards any other or greater styles of activism. In some ways, prayer also became the principle way some volunteers became politically active, or active in their global citizenship, thereby deterring other forms of engagement. For instance, because volunteers had prayed, they might not then write a letter to their MP or because they had arranged a group prayer session, they might not attend a group protest. In this way, religious forms

of political activism can become a barrier to secular or more public forms of political expression. The relationship between prayer and traditional political advocacy is complicated and whilst volunteers did present activist tendencies in and through their prayers, these tendencies sometimes became little more than inclinations to act. Such a finding was also reflected by Zahra and McIntosh (2007) who found a lack of urgency amongst volunteers to solve the poverty inequalities they have encountered leading them to conclude that witnessing poverty firsthand does not necessarily motivate social justice activism or commitment to societal change.

Further, whilst volunteers made activist commitments during times of prayer, such as investigating the origins of consumer products, these commitments were not always validated against their actions upon returning home. In this way, a value action gap could be seen (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002), where the transformed values and commitments did not always directly translate into on the ground behaviour change. For some volunteers there was a continued engagement in considering the origin of their products, however for others, this seemed to wane post-placement. Prayer then has differential impacts, and what is transformative for one volunteer, may not be for another. This therefore reveals limitations to quiet activisms, showing how they are bound up with many other socio-cultural-political factors that influence development and expression. Becoming and being an activist is fluid and incoherent, not a static end point, and activist tendencies that may have been expressed during times of prayer, or during the volunteering placement, were not permanent or fixed, and were also capable of regressing.

## 8.3: Concluding Statements

This chapter has demonstrated the 'sense making' of poverty that happens during the international volunteer placements and how religion, faith and spirituality influence this sense making. As such, research objectives two and three are examined. The sinfulness of humanity and brokenness of the world are described as the cause of poverty, and the solution to poverty is manifested in Jesus' future earthly return. Here the volunteers use their faith to deal with the discomforts of their encounters with poverty. However, this sense-making of poverty could also be viewed as a way of turning away from poverty and not engaging with the structural conditions that contribute to it's making. In this way, a religious worldview could act as an absenting device where the volunteers are excused from developing a critical engagement with the causes of poverty. Indeed, the volunteers showed very little awareness of former and current colonial and structural injustices that have caused and continued poverty and inequality.

Further, it has revealed how perceiving the spiritual richness of the Tanzanians, articulated as "poor but happy" causes feelings of respect amongst the volunteers where they challenge internal biases and appreciate areas their own lives are lacking. Yet, it also caused the evident injustices and inequalities to be overlooked. Similarly, religious narratives concerning the cause and solution of poverty caused a disengagement with understanding and addressing other structural causes of poverty. Whilst the volunteers lament the witnessed poverty, they believe only God can bring an end to worldwide poverty, which in some instances, excused the volunteers from individual actions to address this poverty.

Following this, the chapter shows how prayer was central to the volunteers' political expression and resistance to poverty. There appears to be unique ways that religious individuals become politically active through prayer. The content of the volunteers' prayers often revolves around ideas of injustice, and prayer is shown to be a way the volunteers lobby for change regarding certain injustices. Yet prayer can also be conflicting, where in many instances prayer deters volunteers from any further political activism, and emphasises the agency of the volunteer to bring about change, as opposed to focussing on projects of justice. Ultimately, this thesis makes the case for greater attention to be paid to the quiet and often unnoticed practice of prayer within international volunteering, arguing that it should not be dismissed as trivial and passive. Rather, prayer is purposeful and constitutes a significant way the volunteers express their global citizenship and become politically active, albeit in quieter and understated ways.

# 9. Conclusions

This conclusion is split into three sections. In the first section, I summarise the key arguments of this thesis, including how I have unpacked and examined the initial research questions. Here I will also reflect on the contributions this research makes to wider academic and conceptual debates in geography and broader debates about international volunteering. The second section of this chapter shows how this thesis is of practical value, as well as theoretical. During the research process, I organised a workshop with individuals from various FBOs working with international volunteers. This enabled me to share significant findings from my research and created a space for practioners to reflect on, and respond to, these findings. In this section, I capture these key debates and discussions, showing how they confirm or contradict my findings, as well as how FBOs used these findings to inform their practice. Finally, the third section of this chapter outlines recommendations for those working with Christian international volunteers. Further, I bring to light questions that require further analysis and research. Here I pave the way for future research to build on my findings and thus improve our understanding of whether and how Christian international volunteering programmes can encourage global solidarity, inform understandings of inequality and injustice, address global poverty and influence behaviour change and actions for social justice.

## 9.1: Empirical Reflections and Contributions to Academic Debates

This research project was inspired by wider academic and public discussions about overseas volunteering practices. Recent years have seen a rapid increase in the amount of people travelling overseas to play a role in addressing global poverty and experience life in a different culture. Yet who really benefits from these volunteering practices has been questioned and increased academic and public discussions have examined both the benefits and pitfalls of these programmes, to both the volunteer and the host community. Despite this, the practices of Christian international volunteering specifically has received less academic. Here we have a limited understanding of how faith shapes these placements, from the motivation to participate in these volunteer programmes, to how these practices might influence engagement with global poverty, inequality and injustice. Further, questions about how Christian international volunteering may promote international solidarity, help reach development goals and cultivate new global citizenships remained under analysed. As such, this research addresses these knowledge gaps and investigates the way faith shapes Christian international volunteering practices, thereby contributing to the small, yet significant, body of work analysing faith-based international volunteering (Hopkins et al, 2015; Baillie-Smith et al, 2013). This lead to the creation of three research questions;

- What motivates participation in Christian international volunteering programmes?
- How do Christian international volunteer programmes influence understandings and conceptualisations of poverty, inequality and injustice?
- In what ways do Christian international volunteer programmes influence a commitment to address poverty, inequality and injustice?

Research was conducted in the Mara region of Tanzania alongside Amare, an evangelical Christian international development organisation and relief organisation who work through local partners and churches across the world to address global poverty, inequality, injustice and environmental degradation. Whilst their overtly evangelical Christian faith informs and shapes their work, they are not an evangelistic organisation and their mission is to empower those living in extreme poverty to lift

themselves out of this poverty, rather than to seek converts to the faith. The Christian international volunteer programmes sit within their global advocacy and influencing work, where they seek to inform volunteers about the work Amare and its partners do overseas and help engage these young people in their mission. Further, they hope to inspire the volunteers to be active global citizens in their own daily lives by praying, campaigning, volunteering, fundraising and making lifestyle changes which address global poverty and inequality.

The empirical reflects of this thesis started by exploring motivations to volunteer. The distinct ways faith shapes international volunteering practices was demonstrated firstly in Chapter 5 by the volunteers' motivations, analysed through the concepts of spiritual and religious capital. Here I unpack this first research question and found that for these volunteers, perhaps unsurprisingly, religious motivations were dominant, with many volunteers hoping to experience life as a missionary. They felt called by God (McAlister, 2008) and welcomed the opportunity to put their faith into practice by practically serving others (Cloke, 2010) and seeking new converts. For most of the volunteers, personal spiritual capital motivations prevailed, where many displayed a desire to grow in their own faith, thereby mirroring the findings of Hopkins et al (2015). Serving God and others, and building or encouraging the family of God, or religious capital influences, also featured as a motivator for volunteering. Here we see that philanthropic motivations were present, and it was clear from time spent with the volunteers and during latter parts of interviews that volunteers were strongly motivated by their care and compassion for the welfare of others. Yet, overall, the principal motivations for volunteering commonly revolved around the 'self', mostly expressed in a desire to enhance one's own spirituality.

Previous research has registered this mixture of altruistic and self-oriented rationales for volunteering (Wearing, 2001; Rehberg, 2005), yet these relate to non-faith based volunteering activities. As such, I have extended this body of work, displaying how both self and other oriented reasons are also present in Christian international volunteering. Existing academic discussions about motivations for international volunteering had rarely considered the way faith motivates individuals to volunteer overseas (with the exception of Hopkins et al, 2015). This chapter thus extends the work of Hopkins et al (2015) and contributes to the existing body of work on volunteer motivations (Pearce, 1983; Chambre, 1987; Wilson, 2012; Okabe et al, 2019; Burns et al 2006, Broad and Jenkins 2008; Campbell and Smith 2005; Chen and Chen 2010; Wearing 2001, 2004; Hustinx, 2001; Brooks, 2002; Yeung, 2004) by highlighting the many and different ways faith can inspire rationales for volunteering.

Postsecularist research has revealed emerging trends in many religious circles, were individuals are focussing on contributing to their community and caring for others, inspired by their faith (Cloke et al, 2012; Beaumont and Dias, 2008; Beaumont, 2008). My research thus contributes to this body of work, showing how many volunteers are inspired by the desire to help others and serve God. Yet, there has not been a complete turn from investing in personal spirituality and spiritual capital, demonstrated through the faith growth motivations of many volunteers. Further, the findings in chapter 5 built on existing scholarship of youth geographies and citizen development (Mills, 2013, Mills and Waite (2018) by showing how a desire for, and expectation of, the development of a particular kind of religious citizenship is common in Christian international volunteer programmes. For these young people, religion and ideals of good citizenship are intertwined and taking part in an overseas volunteering programmes becomes a rite of passage in a religious coming of age transition.

Chapter 6 continued to examine the first research question by displaying the motivations for participating in volunteering programmes from the perspective of host organisations and sending organisations. The voices of host organisations are mysteriously absent in most volunteer motivations research (Hopkins et al, 2015), with Grimm and Needham (2012) calling for more research to address this gap. My research thus contributes to this gap and builds on the pioneering work of Tiessen (2018) and Crabtree (2008) by considering the perspectives of those who receive international volunteers. Whilst volunteers were principally motivated by their faith, host organisations were commonly motivated by building relationships with volunteers and enabling volunteers to witness their community development projects. Here their credibility and transparency is improved, thereby securing future support and funding once volunteers returned home. Tiessen (2018) also found that host organisations were motivated by improving their transparency and credibility. My research therefore extends this work by showing how this motivation is replicated in a Christian context. Many sending organisations were also motivated by building relationships with their partner organisations, through sending the volunteers. Further, an exposure to development work was also a key motivation, where time overseas is perceived as humanising development work, which in turn, could inspire behaviour change and social action whilst volunteering and on their return home.

Chapter 6 also gave an overview of the training programme provided by Amare that prepares the volunteers for their time overseas. Existing research on international volunteers has stressed the importance of having an explicit pedagogic strategy for international volunteering programmes to ensure these placements aid the volunteers understanding of cultural differences, development, poverty, justice and inequality (Devereux, 2008; Sin, 2009). Such training would ensure volunteering programmes are transformative for all parties involved and inspire long-term commitments for actions of social justice on and beyond the volunteer programme (Diprose, 2012). This chapter echoes the importance of training and analyses the training materials of Amare. Here a safe space was provided for volunteers to develop their understanding of poverty and development and unsettle any cultural biases. However, ideas of power and systems of oppression were absent in these training programmes, meaning volunteers gain a surface level understanding of the complex causes of global poverty and inequality. Here I call for training programmes to include honest discussions about power and oppression, with introductions to how former and current colonial patterns continue to perpetuate global inequality. Such discussions will allow volunteers to develop a more insightful and critical understanding of how poverty is caused and maintained.

Both Chapters 7 and 8 explore research questions 2 and 3, considering how Christian international volunteering may inspire new understandings of, and commitments to addressing, global poverty, inequality and injustice. Chapter 7 drew on whiteness studies to examine how saviour/ superiority tendencies might be both perpetuated and unsettled through Christian volunteering programmes, building on the work of Griffiths (2014). On one level, volunteers do not recognise or acknowledge their privileges, positioning them as luck and a blessing from God. Positioning privilege as luck has been noted elsewhere in non-faith international volunteering (Crossley, 2012; Simpson, 2004). My research extends these discussions and reveals how such narratives are also present within Christian international volunteering, yet given a religious angle with privileges positioned as a blessing from God. Here the poverty and injustice is overlooked and volunteers remain unaware of the unjust structures that allow global inequality to continue. Host organisations commonly view volunteers from the UK with the agency and wisdom to help their communities, despite their age and lack of experience in the desired activities (e.g. preaching or teaching). Here a colonisation of the mind is

demonstrated (Ngũgĩ, 1986), which poses challenges if these volunteers are unable to deliver these expectations. For instance, host organisations may feel disappointed their expectations go unmet and volunteers may in turn feel they are disappointing the host organisation. Yet, these volunteering programmes were also valuable in unsettling stereotypes and representations of Africa. Here volunteers became more aware of common stereotypes of Africa, that present the continent as devoid of wealth and knowledge. Rather, through volunteering they challenge these stereotypes and come to respect their host communities and humble themselves to learn with, and from, their host organisations (see also Griffiths, 2014).

After this, Chapter 7 continued to show how volunteering programmes also influence the development and expression of global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies, building on the work of Baillie-Smith et al (2013). Here the volunteers increasingly acknowledge belonging to a global Christian community, recognising commonality between themselves and their host communities due to their shared faith. The volunteers also encountered differences in this shared faith, yet celebrated this difference and humbled themselves by realising their way of practicing Christianity may not be the only way to practice Christianity. This finding echoes that of Baillie-Smith et al (2013) who also found that acknowledging the presence of a global Christian community can create a particular kind of religious global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. Yet, whilst the volunteers developed particular forms of global citizen and cosmopolitan tendencies, these were often displayed in 'softer' forms, as opposed to 'critical', thereby reflecting the work of Andreotti (2014) and Jeferess (2008). Here the root causes of poverty and injustice were not fully acknowledged and any action addressed shorter-term immediate needs, without questioning or challenging why such needs may have arisen, or what longer term interventions could be put in place to prevent these needs arising. This chapter thus emphasises the need for volunteering programmes to involve critical development pedagogy in their volunteering programmes that shows the importance of tackling root causes of poverty, as opposed to focussing on the symptoms of poverty and helplessness.

In Chapter 8, the way volunteers conceptualise poverty was examined, displaying how their religious beliefs and values inform this conceptualisation. Baillie-Smith et al (2013) comment that we have limited understanding of the way faith-based international volunteering connects with issues of inequality, poverty and development. As such, this chapter addresses this gap, improving our understanding of how Christian volunteers make sense of poverty and inequality through their faith. For these volunteers, poverty was caused by the sinfulness of all humanity and the only remedy is found in Jesus Christ's future earthly return. Until then, poverty and injustice were an expected part of life. For some, these religious narratives provided comfort and hope, and caused a disengagement from investigating and addressing the poverty and inequality witnessed. Yet for others, it motivated them to become engaged in addressing poverty to reflect this future Kingdom of God where poverty and injustice were eradicated.

Poverty was also seen to have a spiritual dimension, where many volunteers perceived a spiritual richness in the local communities they visited and articulated a 'poor but happy' narrative. Such narratives are also common in non-faith international volunteering (Crossley, 2012; Simpson, 2004; Diprose, 2012) where volunteers perceive a sense of joy and happiness in the midst of poverty. My research thus builds on these existing reflections, showing how 'poor but happy' narratives are also common in Christian international volunteering, yet presented through a religious lens. Here the

volunteers acknowledged areas in their own lives that were lacking and increasingly respected the local community for their spiritual richness. Yet, this 'poor by happy' descriptions also caused poverty and inequality to be overlooked because of their spiritual richness. This chapter thus showed the importance of ensuring religious narratives do not cause volunteers to overlook or disengage from resisting global poverty and inequality.

Chapter 8 progressed to show how volunteers respond to poverty and inequality through religious practices, namely prayer. The analysis of the practice of prayer within Christian international volunteering continues to answer the call of Baillie-Smith et al (2013) who revealed we have a limited understanding of how faith-based international volunteering connects to issues of poverty and development. For the volunteers, God is perceived as holding ultimate power to end worldwide injustice and poverty through the inauguration of a new and perfect world. This presents an alternative reality where injustices and poverty will no longer exist. The volunteers then seek God, as an individual may seek out their local MP, to lobby for change. Prayer is essential for the Christian activist who wishes to upset the status quo, and present new political possibilities. Volunteers engage with the injustices of the world through prayer by reimaging the world and their place in it. For most volunteers, prayer involved speaking to God, asking, and in some cases commanding Him to 'bring [His] kingdom on earth'. The prayers of the volunteers were not passive, but purposeful, and sought to subvert prevailing world orders and bring about change. Many volunteers expressed a discontent at the prevailing neoliberal social order that allowed injustices and structural inequalities to prevail and brought the world before God, imploring a transformation.

Listening to God was also an important part of prayer and many volunteers frequently invoked the phrase 'break my heart for what breaks yours', thereby seeking God to reposition themselves in the world, according to His concerns. Here prayer informs the volunteers' social actions and forms a crucial space of social interconnection, care, hope and resistance. Chapter 8 then positioned prayer as a form of quiet activism (Pottinger, 2017; Askins, 2015), where methods of political expression and action could be seen in the everydayness of life, such as in an individual's habitual prayers, which should not be dismissed as trivial. The positioning of prayer as a form of quiet activism extends the emerging geographical work on quiet activism and quiet politics by showing how Christian international volunteers may become active in advocating for others and seeking change. Further, Baillie Smith (2016) has previously observed that many international volunteering programmes are devoid of political activity. My research thus challenges this notion by positioning prayer as a significant way volunteers become politically active in advocating for the needs of others, albeit in quieter ways to traditional political action.

## 9.2: Contradictions in Christian International Volunteering

Whilst this thesis did not set out to be a pros and cons list of Christian international volunteering, it seems of value that the benefits are acknowledged and celebrated, as well as the challenges being brought to light and addressed. This is particularly the case given the serious and contentious debates that often take place in global Christian communities as to whether these short-term voluntary trips benefit anyone except the volunteers themselves (McAlister, 2008). Understanding sites of tension in particular can allow for greater reflexivity on the value of international volunteering and reveal areas to develop strategies to create a more beneficial practice.

At its best, Christian international volunteering can encourage positive attitudes towards cultural difference, increasing notions of cosmopolitanism and global citizenships where difference is celebrated and individuals acknowledge they are part of a global humanity. It can also call into question internal biases and stereotypes, and challenge 'us' and 'them' binaries that focus on the difference between oneself and the other. Stereotypes of African nations as poor, barren and devoid of knowledge and wealth can also be unsettled. Volunteers can gain an appreciation for different cultures and different ways of practicing Christianity, which is celebrated and learnt from. In line with this, volunteers can be humbled and genuine relationships can be built between volunteers and the host culture that have transformative potential. Ideas of respect can be fostered amongst the volunteers where they begin to appreciate the competencies of those they meet, as well as the way their own lives are lacking. Here volunteers acknowledge that they are not the saviours of those in the 'developing' world, recognising that only God can bring a complete end to the sufferings and inequality in the world. Volunteering programmes provide a potential site for knowledge and skills transfer and can in many instances, promote international understanding and solidarity. Further, these programmes can provide a valuable space for transformative learning, where volunteers show increased understanding of poverty, justice and development and take action on addressing global poverty and resisting injustice in the world through lifestyle changes and prayer.

Yet, several challenges co-exist. For instance, whilst volunteering can subvert internal biases and hierarchies, it can also reinforce them and distance volunteers from those they meet. Additionally, whilst volunteers may become more active in tacking global poverty and inequality, these measures focus on charity and softer forms of global citizenship where the root causes of poverty and inequality are neither acknowledged nor addressed (Andreotti, 2014). Here the symptoms of poverty are addressed, yet the structural issues that create and sustain global poverty and inequality remain in the shadows. Likewise, volunteers remain unaware or defensive of their privilege, perceiving it as a blessing from God, and thus not questioning or resisting the unequal power dynamics and structural inequalities that have allowed their privilege. Further, the global citizenships created in international volunteering could always be considered uneven, as one person, i.e the volunteer, is freely able to travel in and out of the 'others' social space, yet the reverse is not possible. If volunteering is to play a role in ending poverty and fighting global inequality and injustice, volunteers need to develop an in depth understanding of the root causes of these global issues, to inspire behaviour change and social advocacy. Moreover, whilst a shared faith between host communities and volunteers can create new global citizenships and genuine friendships, religious beliefs can influence volunteering programmes in problematic ways. This was demonstrated in how a celebration of spiritual richness in local communities can cause volunteers to overlook the evident poverty and injustice. Further, volunteers believe they are equipped by God to do jobs they have little training in, such as teaching or preaching. Faith becomes a substitute for adequate training and preparation for their activities overseas.

Considering all this, it should be noted that these challenges associated with volunteering cannot, and should not, be separated from the aforementioned benefits and the knowledge that host organisations chose to continue hosting volunteers and are free to do so. Further, whilst the benefits on the volunteer themselves may have outweighed the benefits to the host communities; this was, on some level, the expectation of both Amare and Sollus.

## 9.3: Feedback Event

At the start of my research, I hoped to use participatory research approaches and work closely with various FBO's in my research design. Here I wished to ensure my research was relevant and useful to

the policies, strategies, conversations and programmes in the organisations (Dickinson and Clarke, 1972; Ward, 2005; Fuller, 2008). Using these participatory approaches was not completely possible however, due to the time constraints of the FBO's. Yet, through various conversations, I was able to ascertain what they were interested in knowing about the volunteer placements, and thus tailor the research accordingly (Burawoy, 2005). This included how the volunteer's understandings and engagement with poverty, justice and development were influenced by the placement, as well as how the volunteer placement influenced the faith of the volunteers. In order to share the research findings with these FBOs, I successfully applied for funding with the Centre for Welsh Politics and Society at Aberystwyth University to organise an 'impact event' (Rogers et al, 2014). I then, delivered a workshop at the Amare offices entitled 'Faith-based International Volunteering: A Researchers Perspective' on the 18th of July 2019. This event was also open to practioners from other organisations, however only one representative from another organisation was able to attend. Many of the 20 people who attended develop and manage the international volunteering programmes; however, there were other members of Amare present, such as those who work on the strategy and impact team and the theology team. In what follows, I will outline what was covered during the day, including what I presented, but more significantly, what was discussed by the practioners in response to my research findings and discussion questions.

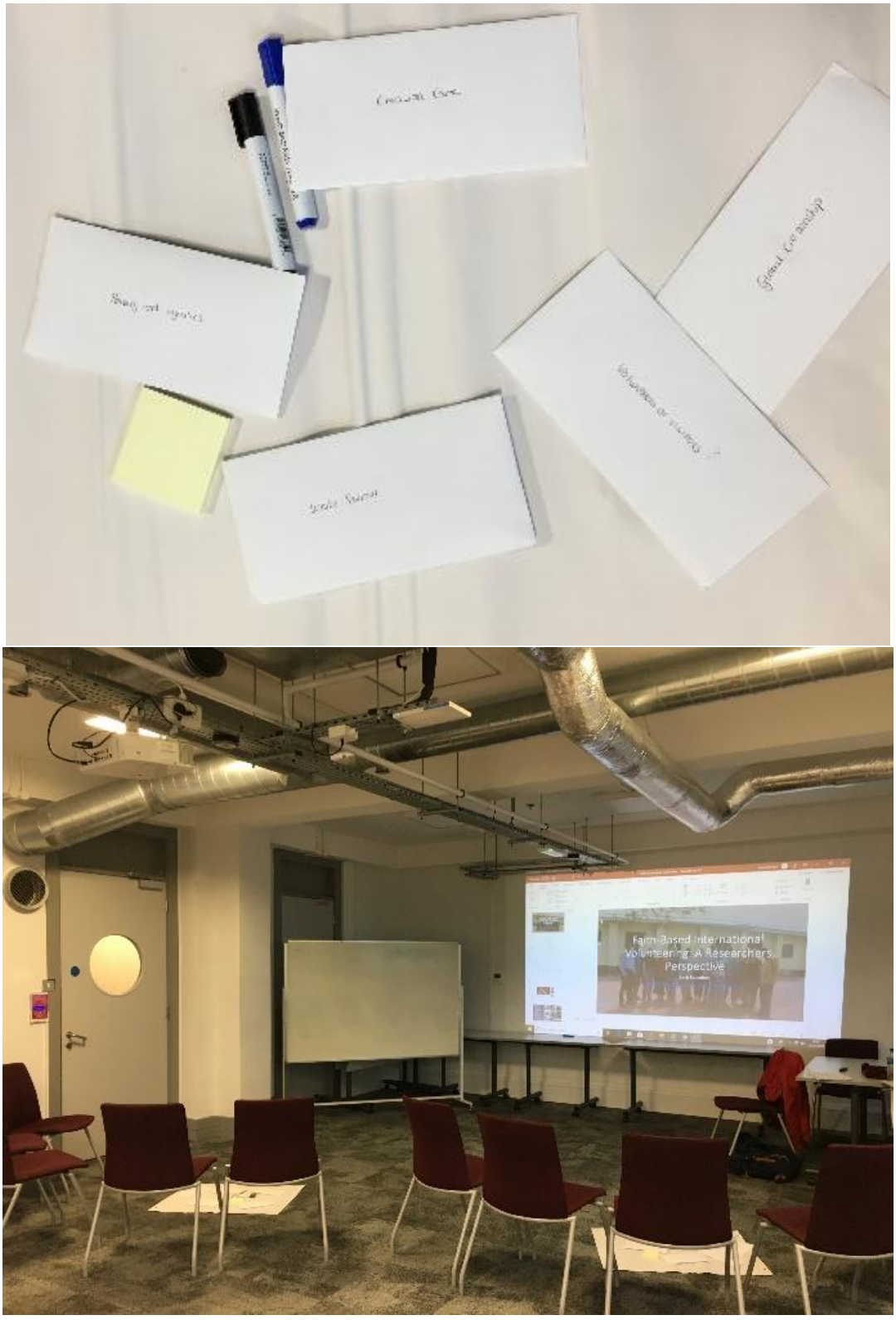


*Figure 4: Pictures for the feedback workshop 'Faith-Based International Volunteering: A Researcher's Perspective'*

At this point, it should be noted that this feedback session was not used to frame the research or set the agenda for this thesis. Rather, the feedback session was an opportunity for me to share my research findings with those who work in the field of international volunteering, and with whom, I had built close connections with during the research process. These participants were interested in hearing my findings so the feedback event was an opportunity for these practioners to reflect on their practice

in response to my findings and conclusions. Further, the workshop allowed me to see how practioners interpret my research findings and which were most useful in informing wider discussions in their organisations. In some instances, workshop participants had different interpretations about my findings, which stimulated interesting and fruitful discussions. Following the workshop, I distributed feedback forms to gather information about which elements of the workshop the participants found most interesting, what they found most interesting, whether they disagreed with any findings and how they might use the information to inform their volunteer programmes. Responses from these feedback forms are included in the following workshop overview.

I began the workshop with a small discussion on my research methods, sample and analysis, as well as my positionality and research limitations. Following this, I began presented the five mains sections where I spoke for 15 minutes outlined my main findings and key arguments. These five sections were global 'citizenship', 'poverty and injustice', 'white saviour', 'visitors or volunteers' and 'creation care'. After the presentation, attendees split into discussion groups where I distributed pre-prepared envelopes (Figure 4) including relevant quotes and discussion questions to guide their conversations. Following the group discussion, I asked each group to summarise their main conversation points and present these to the wider group, often leading to a deliberation between the groups and myself. Below I outline the main discussion points, showing how my research findings were confirmed, contradicted and built upon. It should be noted that ideas discussed by workshop participants should not be considered the organisations definitive opinion on my research or on the themes covered. Rather, it should be viewed as a platform where individuals could hear and discuss my findings.

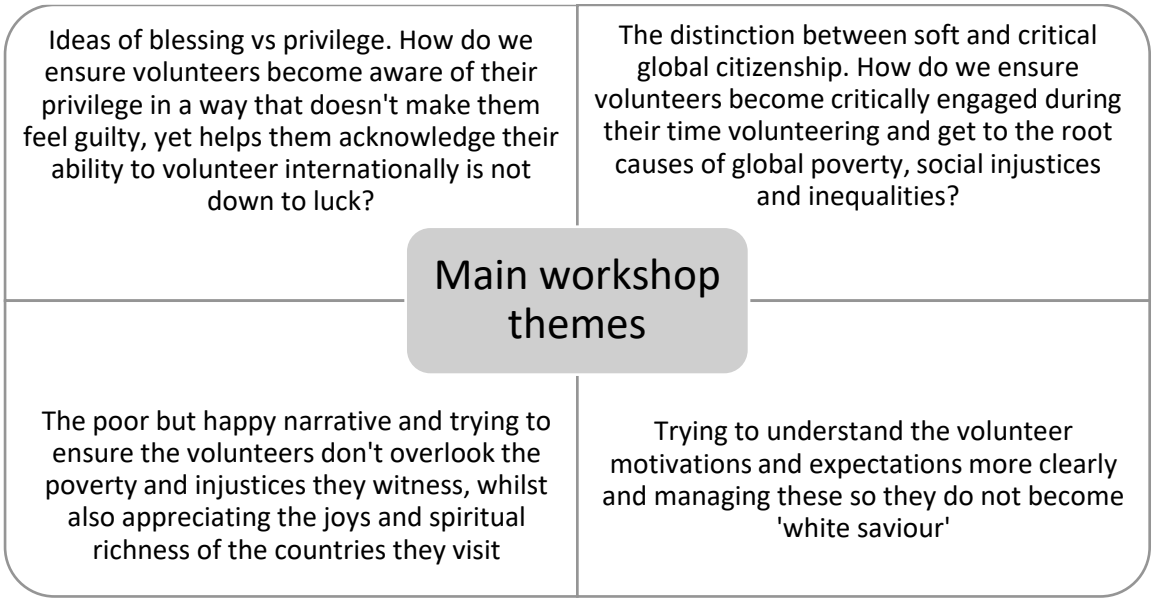


*Figure 5: Main themes and discussion topics from the feedback session*

### 9.3.1: Global Citizenship

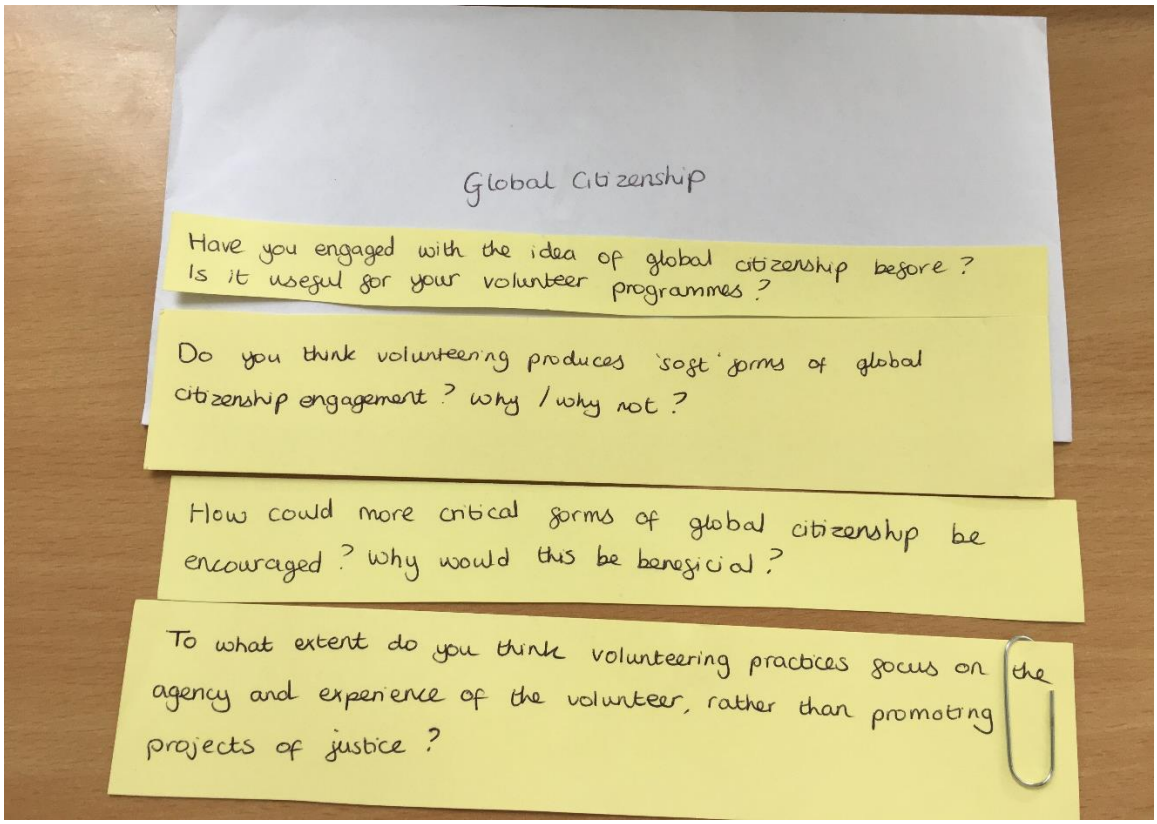


*Figure 6: Discussion questions for the 'global citizenship' session of the feedback workshop*

In this section, I gave a brief definition of the concept of global citizenship, followed by a more detailed description of Andreotti's (2014) distinction between soft and critical global citizenship. Here I showed how volunteers display a greater awareness of a global humanity, using phrases like 'global church' and 'family of God' as well as displaying a sense of responsibility to those overseas because of their time overseas the experience and agency of the volunteer. Yet these global citizenship tendencies focussed on short-term helping that alleviated the symptoms of poverty whilst rarely challenging injustices and the root causes of the poverty. Whilst unfamiliar with the language of global citizenship, the workshop participants expressed how fostering global citizenship tendencies was a key component and goal of their volunteer trips. Many participants were encouraged to hear how volunteers realise the significance of relationships and their part in the family of God. Yet, participants also confirmed the tendency for volunteers to focus on short term solutions to the detriment of developing a critical engagement with injustice and inequality. In a post-workshop feedback from, one participant said,

> "I am looking further into the distinctions between soft and critical global citizenships and the themes drawn out are helpful to consider in terms of training for volunteers".

Here we can see the importance of pre-departure training to ensure volunteers are engaged in both soft and critical global citizenship, particularly if it was their first time overseas or their first engagement with development discussions. During the workshop, we also stressed the importance of supporting volunteers beyond their placements to help them see how their lives in the UK are connected to those around the world. This, it was thought, would encourage greater behaviour change and critical engagement with development issues would follow.

We also engaged in a discussion as to why some people might not engage in both soft and critical types of citizenship. Some people thought it related to the amount of time a volunteer went on their placement for, which would allow for a greater exposure to life overseas and more opportunities to learn, reflect and act questions. Yet others felt it depended on the individual person where they had heard stories of volunteers travelling for two weeks and returning home more critically engaged in development issues than others who went for 6 months. Here the significance of initial motivations and expectations for volunteering, as well as the individuals' development knowledge and engagement influences this outcome. Additionally, the participant's spoke of a new resource, a book called Live Justly (Fileta, 2017), that they had begun using in their volunteer placements. This includes a series of Bible studies investigating issues such as poverty, justice and creation care to facilitate the volunteers learning and behaviours. Yet, this resource had had mixed feedback with some volunteers enjoying it, others less so. This came back again to a discussion on how volunteer motivations significantly affect the outcome of the placement, where for some the volunteer placement is about experiencing life as a missionary and witnessing to one's faith, for others it may be about growing in their own faith and for others about engaging in development issues.

### 9.3.2: Poverty and Injustice

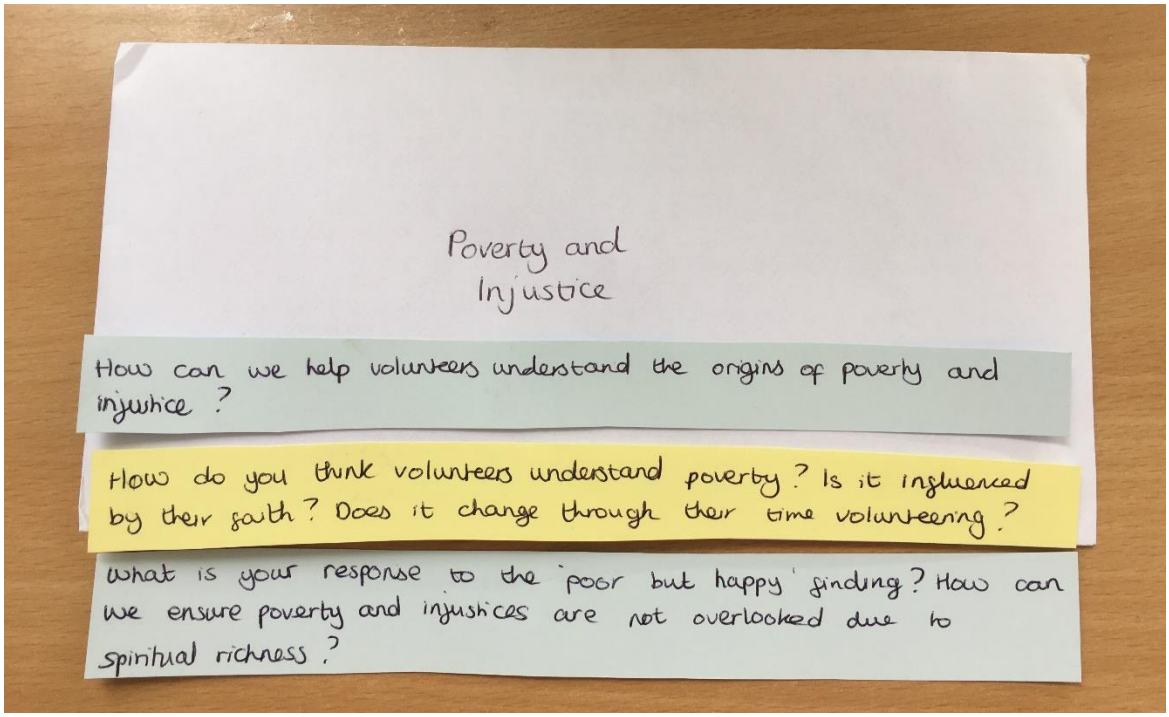


*Figure 7: Discussion questions for the 'poverty and injustice' session of the feedback workshop*

In this section, I showed how the volunteers' faith influences their perceptions of poverty and injustice, showing that many believe that it stems from broken relationships with self, God, creation and other people. For the volunteers poverty was more than material, it featured a spiritual element. I presented how a 'poor but happy' (Crossley, 2012; Simpson, 2004) narrative is reproduced through a spiritual lens, where volunteers see the spiritual richness of those they meet, perceiving them to be poor in some material ways, but not in their community and spirituality. Here I showed how this 'poor but happy' notion can humble the volunteers, causing them to feel respect for those they met, yet can also mean the material poverty and injustices are overlooked. The 'poor but happy' narratives contributed to ongoing internal discussions about destabilising the idea that poor means sad and rich means happy and the workshop participants were pleased to see my findings showed volunteer placements can contribute to this destabilisation. The way this causes some people to overlook

material poverty was acknowledged, yet a few participants didn't agree with my interpretation that this narrative can be a defensive strategy where one legitimises their own privilege and softens or overlooks the poverty and inequality so one can cope with the harsh realities witnessed. A quote by Phoebe stimulated significant discussion. Phoebe states,

> "because obviously everyone does the classic, you know, how does God allow suffering, and then I think you just have to, kind of, look past the obvious. They are poor. They've got no house. They've got eight kids that they can't really feed. You have to look past that and see that actually they're so happy. They've got such a good sense of community. A lot of them love their church" (Phoebe, volunteer, in-country interview)

Rather than interpreting that Phoebe is overlooking this poverty and inequality, one participant commented that she felt this volunteer was 'struggling' and 'going through a hard time. For this workshop respondent, the volunteer was overwhelmed with the poverty they were seeing and struggled to articulate this. Here the 'poor but happy' narrative was not seen by some as a way volunteers avoided engaging in this poverty, but evidence of the struggle volunteers face when seeing poverty for the first time. Others however mentioned they were now going to ensure their volunteers did not overlook the poverty and injustice in their host country. For instance, one participant wrote in their feedback form,

> "Lots was learnt but in particular, we'll be considering how we ensure that volunteers don't overlook poverty and injustice, their privilege is challenged to a point where they become critical global citizens".

In addition to this, workshop participants spoke about the ways we can help volunteers understand the complexity of poverty, speaking about how using the tool of a 'problem or poverty tree' can help volunteers explore the root causes and impacts poverty can have on a person. Further, we spoke about the challenges of helping educate the volunteers on the complexity of poverty, justice and development issues in a way that would help them engage, rather than feeling overwhelmed with the scale and complexity of the issues, and as such, disengage. Here we particularly focussed on how we can prepare volunteers for difference without reinforcing the difference they might already have in their minds. In this people often expect poverty, but do not expect wealth and are surprised by it. The main discussion revolved around how you can prepare people for this without diminishing the very real and unjust poverty.

### 9.3.3: White Saviour

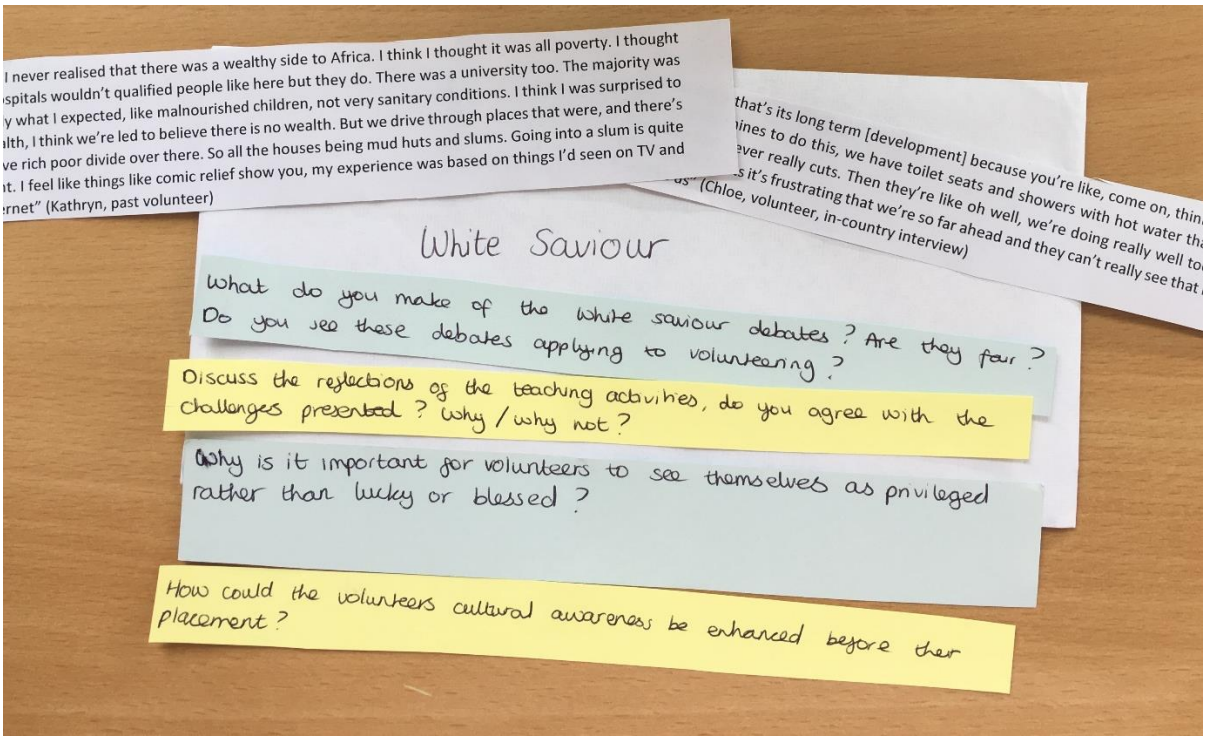


*Figure 8: Discussion questions for the 'white saviour' session of the feedback workshop*

In this section, I spoke about how volunteers often perceive their ability to volunteer (ability to travel, source adequate funds) as luck or blessings, rather than as privilege (see also Diprose, 2012; Simpson, 2004). This often prevents the volunteers from resisting acknowledging and resisting this privilege and the structures of oppression that have disallowed those in 'developing countries' to acquire such privilege. The reasons those in Tanzania were seemingly less developed, was then due to their own slowness or of experience of 'western life'. I showed how the volunteers lacked knowledge of unequal power structures, the countries colonial histories, years of corruption and unequal trade relations that have hampered the country developing economically. On the other hand, I showed how time spent volunteering can challenge various stereotypes of a poor, barren and homogenous nation of Africa. Such stereotypes were often espoused by volunteers prior to the volunteer trips and were attributed to various forms of media and organisations such as Comic Relief.

This 'white saviour' section stimulated the most discussion in the workshop where the issues raised already featuring in ongoing internal discussions. Two workshop participants wrote in their feedback forms,

> "I was interested in idea of blessing vs. privilege. Also a lot around the idea of volunteer motive which seems to be a bit more selfish than I hoped for".
>
> "The thing I am taking away the most was the discussion on blessed/privilege, this was a great eye opener and I am noticing the word blessed a lot more now and questioning whether it was used correctly!!"

Here we discussed how we could help volunteers understand their privilege and experience 'otherness' in a safe way, without causing shame. Shame was thought to cause resistance and be debilitating for the volunteers. The consensus was the volunteers should be led to recognition and repentance, not recognition and shame. Tangney et al (1996) also posit that guilt lead to corrective

actions, whereas shame leads to defensive reactions. Guilt here is understood as referring to feeling bad at specific behaviours, whereas shame related to feeling bad about oneself. Further, Swim and Miller (1999) found that increased recognition of one's own privilege causes feelings of guilt, which equated to action and advocacy, whereas shame did not (see also Steele, 1990; Brennan and Binney,2009). Feelings of guilt and shame are complex and its possible that different individuals could respond differently to feelings of guilt. However, it seems that is crucial to avoid emotional burnout, to challenging issues are understood and acted upon, not avoided due to the individual's self-defence mechanisms.

During the workshop we also throughout about creative ways of helping volunteers realise their privilege were creative, rather than the organisations telling the volunteers about their privilege. One idea was a simulation using a 'privilege line', where volunteers would begin holding hands in a line and take steps forward or backwards in response to questions regarding certain elements of privilege i.e. access to private school education. Yet, this privilege line presents limitations when many of the volunteers were likely to be from similar socio-economic backgrounds. In helping the volunteers experience otherness, small measures like some people having different lunches during pre-departure trainings were discussed. In this way, the volunteers would begin to experience otherness and feel discomfort, but this would be in a safe setting. Many of the workshop participants emphasised the way volunteer placements can provide the encounters and spaces where one's privilege can be realised (despite my findings that this privilege is perceived as luck or blessing).

I also presented challenges around the practice of teaching within the volunteering placements, where volunteers were untrained and teaching subjects they had little to no knowledge in. I questioned what message this sent to the volunteers, whether it communicated that development was easy and that anyone could do it. I also pointed out that there might be unrealistic expectations between the host organisation and the sending organisation as the host organisation often expects the volunteers to carry out more activities than they may feel capable of. Yet I also showed how many lessons go untaught. Further, many schoolteachers and members of the host organisation give good reports about the volunteers and the activities they undertake. Responses to these findings were mixed with many participants not sharing my concerns about the teaching practices. These activities were likened to teachers in the UK who learn on the job without studying a teaching degree. Further, volunteers were seen as adding capacity to the schools, rather than replacing the teachers. Further, the difficulty of working in the development sphere with a history of international aid was acknowledged. The organisations present spoke about their challenges in communicating with partners that volunteers could do other activities rather than teaching. This opened up discussions of whether there was something more valuable the volunteers could be spending their time doing.

### 9.3.4: Volunteers or Visitors?

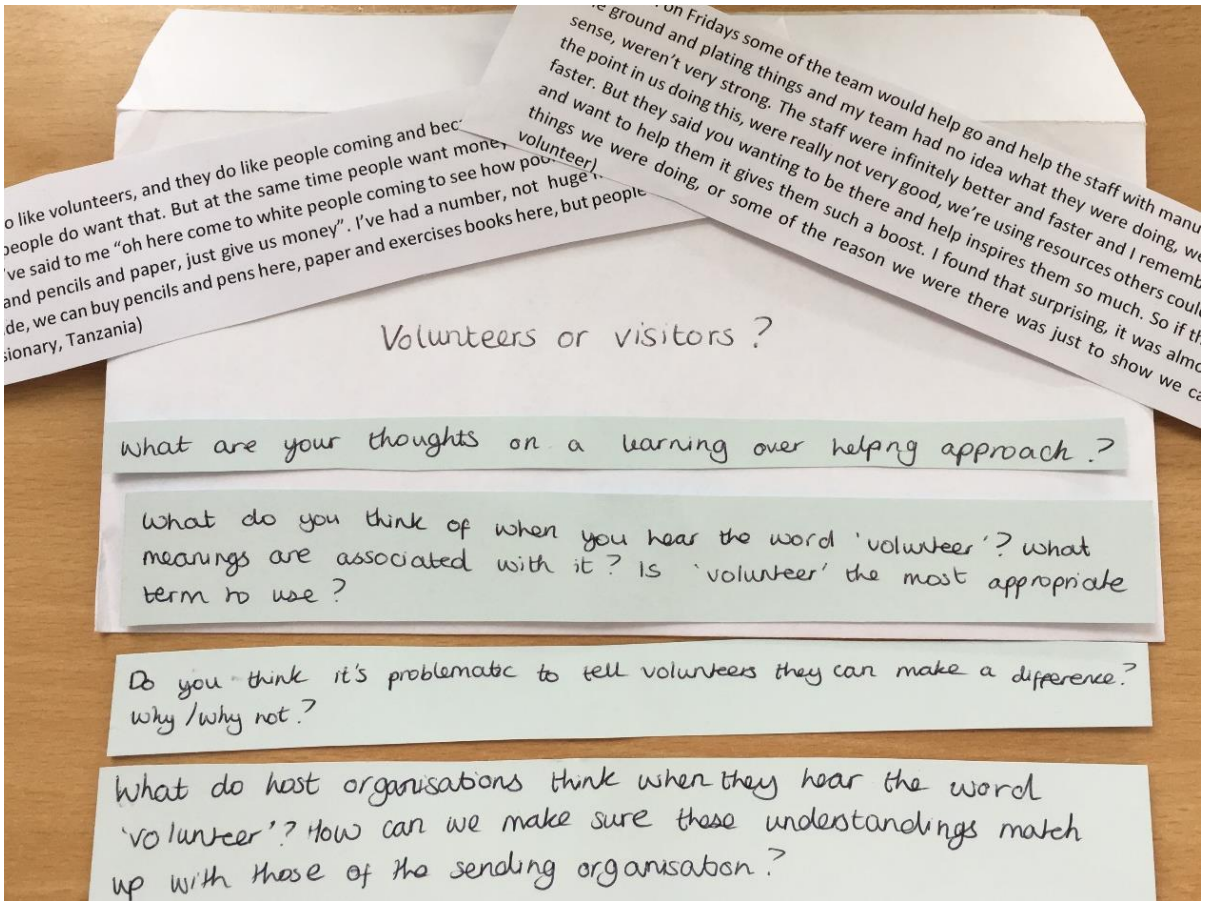


*Figure 9: Discussion questions for the 'volunteers or visitors' session of the feedback workshop*

In this section, I spoke about the phrases that are commonly used in international volunteering promotion. This included the narrative that volunteers can 'make a difference'. In this I showed the disappointed some volunteers feel when they don't make an impact overseas (not that this is necessarily a bad thing as it can destabilise white saviour/ northern superiority mindsets). Yet I spoke about how volunteers could potentially become disengaged from international development issues if they became overly disappointed during their time overseas. Further, I questioned whether telling volunteers they could 'make a difference' was reinforcing this white saviour mind-set and that without any particular training or experience, was it possible that volunteers could make a difference to the lives of those they were meeting.

The idea that volunteers believe they can make a difference initiated an interesting discussion of what volunteers are expecting from their time overseas and why they might come with the expectation that they could make a difference. In their experience, the organisations did say the volunteers had unrealistic expectations of what they could achieve whilst overseas and it was their job to bring the volunteers back down to earth. In this, the workshop participants vocalised that they would never tell a volunteer they could 'make a difference'. This led to a discussion about impact, where some thought you might make a difference to your host family or to a couple of individual's for a short amount of time, but the difference was mostly when the volunteer returns home in their behaviour change and continued engagement in development issues. This difference was also in the part the volunteers play in the ongoing relationship these organisations have with the partner organisations and host communities.

Here I also showed that the value host organisations place on hosting volunteers was often more on what they see, hear and experience during their time overseas, particularly what they see about the work the organisations do overseas, rather than what the volunteers specifically do or contribute whilst overseas. In this, there was often the hope that additional funds would be raised by the volunteers when they returned home. Frequently the language used by the host organisation to describe the volunteers was 'visitors' and as such, I opened up discussion on what language the sending organisations were using and what messages this could be sending. During the discussion time, it transpired that for many, the word 'volunteer' sounded like you were going to *do* something, something akin to a professional or expert in a particular skillset. In this the language of insight trips, vision trips, GO placements and exposure trips were preferred as it was felt they were more appropriate, avoided positioning the volunteers as experts and reflected the rationale many of the host organisation had in receiving the volunteers. For others however, they felt the word volunteer was more appropriate as it instilled a strong work ethic in the volunteers and was the language used in common parlance so would attract the most amount of people to their programmes.

### 9.3.5: Creation Care

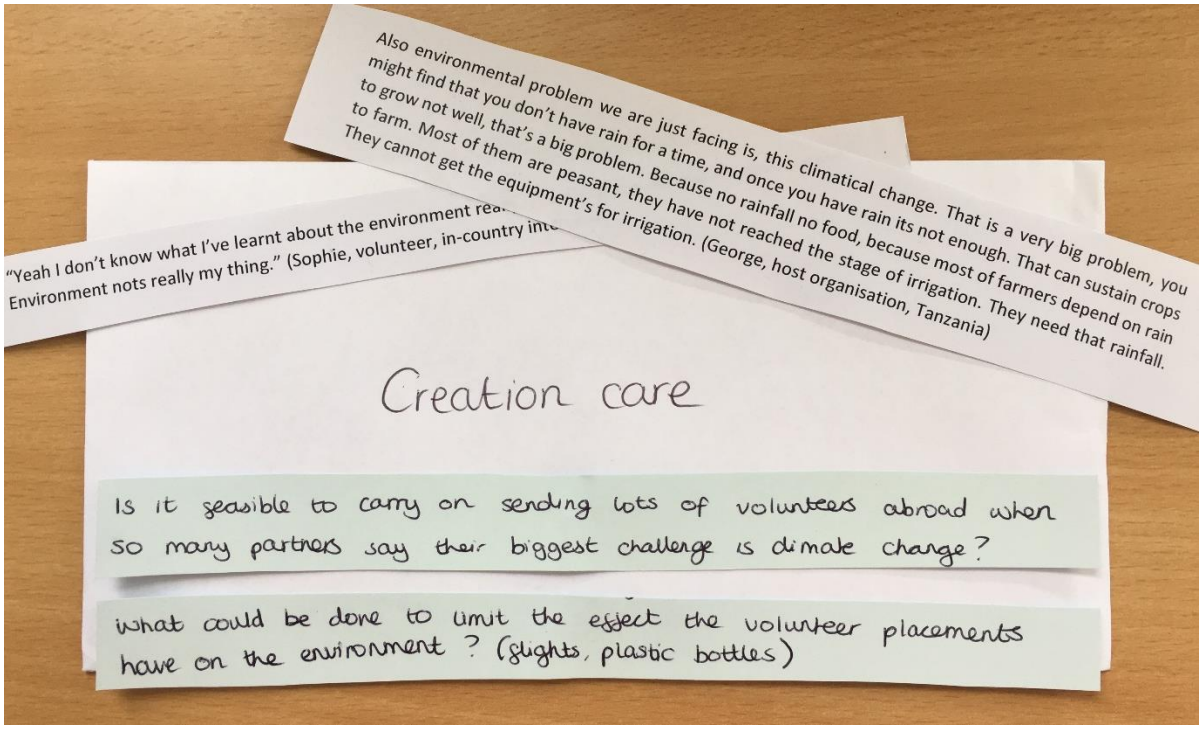


*Figure 10: Discussion questions for the 'creation care' session of the feedback workshop*

The preceding four sections of the feedback session reflected issues that are at the heart of this thesis. Yet, another theme emerged that was considered significant for both future academic research on international volunteering and practioners working with international volunteering. This theme related to the environmental harm caused by volunteering placements and proved an interesting debate during the feedback session. In this section, I showed data about the importance host organisations place on tackling climate change with many hosts mentioning climate change as one of the key challenges to their development projects. I used information from Amare's website that showed how many volunteers had travelled abroad in the past year. For ease of calculations, I imagined each of these volunteers travelled to the Mara region of Tanzania and calculated the amount of carbon produced by these flights. Then using a Greenhouse Gas Equivalences Calculator (United States Environment Protection Agency, 2017), I calculated how many acres of forest would be needed

to sequester this carbon. I also showed a diagrammatic illustration (Figure 11) of the annual carbon footprint of an average person from the UK. In this diagram, air travel makes up 34% of the carbon footprint, the biggest section, followed by gas at 27%. Essentially I posed the question, are the benefits of volunteers worth the impact they have on the environment? The volunteer placements also used large amounts of plastic for drinking water. Often these bottles were reused, yet there were instances where the volunteers found their rubbish on the side of the road or being burnt by young children.

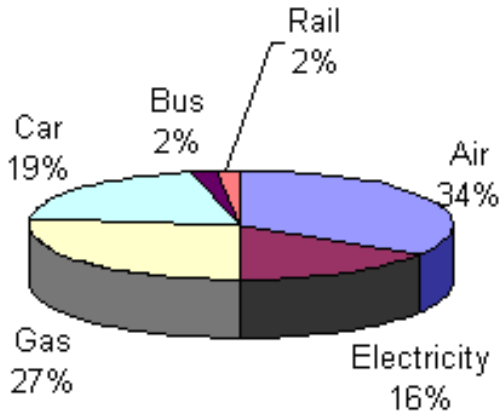


*Figure 11: A breakdown of carbon emissions for an average person in the UK (World Bank, 2019)*

Since my fieldwork placement, Amare have started distributing reusable water bottles with filters to all their volunteers and their partners were told not to buy bottled water, thus the amount of waste produced through the volunteer placements will have significantly reduced. The information of the environmental consequences of flights contributed to wider internal discussions about flights and international work. Taking flights is a frequent occurrence and deemed unavoidable in many instances where the necessity of building relationships across borders is prioritised. Currently some of Amare's staff flights are offset through Climate Stewards, a carbon offsetting organisation and we discussed whether this should be an included part of the payment that volunteers contribute to go overseas. Currently the volunteers are made aware of Climate Stewards and encouraged to offset their flights if they can, yet this is not an included part of their placement cost. Other ideas such as encouraging the volunteer to take the most direct flight and educating them on the environmental consequences of flying were spoken about. Such measures were done with the acknowledgement that these were personal costs to the volunteers. The encouragement of longer-term placements was also discussed, as well as deliberating whether cross-cultural experiences could be set up in the UK.

## 9.4: Where Next?

### 9.4.1: Practical Recommendations

I now turn to show how this thesis can be of practical value to both volunteers and those working with Christian international volunteers. Many of the implications of this research relate to how FBOs can prepare volunteers for their time overseas as well as how prospective volunteers can prepare themselves. As we have seen throughout this thesis, attitudes and mindsets are crucial in ensuring volunteering programmes are beneficial in building relationships and fostering nuanced understandings of, and engagements with, poverty and inequality. Overall, it seems that if volunteers have the right cultural awareness and knowledge then short term volunteering can be a very positive experience for all involved.

For volunteers, it is important to learn some of the host countries language. Further, taking time to learn about the culture of the host community would prove valuable in ensuring cultural blunders are avoided and stronger relationships can be built. Such preparation could involve reading literature and theology produced by someone *from* that culture, rather than someone writing *about* the culture. Likewise watching films or TV programmes produced in the area would help the individuals grow in their understanding of the communities they are travelling to. Such measures could also be beneficial in reducing saviour and northern superiority mindsets as volunteers come to see individuals from those cultures are talented and skilful in writing engaging novels and insightful theology.

Further, I believe there are many questions volunteers ought to ask themselves before signing up to volunteer. Such as, why are you undertaking this trip, is it to benefit yourself or the host community? Are you qualified to do the work involved in the placement? Would you be able to do the proposed activities in your home country? If not, is there anything you could do before you go away to prepare yourself, or is there a different placement you could sign up for? How can you be engaged long term, despite the placement being short term? For instance, how could you sustain relationships made after the placement? Do you know about the country you are visiting, its culture, language, history? If not, find resources to help improve this. Are you open and willing to have your worldview challenged? Are you willing to learn as much as you are willing to help? Are you willing to learn about the complexities of development? Would you still do this placement if you were not allowed to take photos and share stories on social media?

Learning is a vital element of volunteering, one which volunteering organisations should emphasise to their prospective volunteers. Such learning will help the volunteers understand the situations and contexts they are going into and ensure that any 'helping' activities are appropriate and beneficial to the host communities. This thesis has shown how volunteering can transformative, with volunteers showing compassion for those they meet and developing a greater understanding of poverty and inequality. Yet, this knowledge does not acknowledge the former and current colonial presence in host communities or the systems of oppression that have caused global poverty and inequality. This further emphasises the importance of training and preparation both before and after the volunteering placements.

Such training could include sessions that engage with issues of power, privilege, oppression, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Information about the host countries would also be helpful for volunteers to understand the culture, economics, history and politics of their host community. Indeed honest reflections about the shortfalls or problematic elements of international volunteering could also be outlined to ensure volunteers are aware of these. To make this learning more interactive and engaging, it could include games and simulations such as a privilege line (Buzzfeed, 2015) where individuals, answering either for themselves or as an adopted persona, take steps forward or backward in answer to various questions about their level of privilege. The trading or globalisation game (National Geographic, n.d) could be another alternative, where individuals are given certain items to trade and build something, yet along the way, situations change, such as the start of a colonial ruling or the change in oil price, or events such as a natural disaster occur. Such situations and events alter the individuals' ability to trade and 'develop', thus allowing a greater understanding of how the global economy and systems of oppression have created global inequality to exist and continue[2].

These games and simulations may allow the volunteers to gain a more embodied understanding of the causes and complexity of global poverty, inequality and injustice. Further, due to the embodied

[2] See also the Global Food Inequality simulation game (World Vision, n.d) or the Poverty Challenge (Christian Aid, n.d)

nature of learning through simulations, it's possible that volunteers may also show a greater emotional response, such as anger, sadness, empathy, perhaps even guilt when they see how their lives are vastly different to those in their host communities largely because of global processes beyond their control. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, feelings of guilt should be avoided as it may lead to a lack of engagement. Conversations following these simulations should attempt to alleviate this guilt and turn this into a commitment to action.

FBOs may also wish to produce resource lists to help volunteer engage with their upcoming volunteering placements. This could include references to books, such as 'When helping hurts' (Corbett and Fikkert, 2014) or Walking with the Poor (Myers, 2011). Additionally, links to YouTube videos where they are able to learn some of the language would be valuable. This resource list could also include films, TV shows, and fiction and theology books produced in the area. This would allow and encourage volunteers to engage with their upcoming placements in greater depth. Such measures should help reduce any saviour or othering narratives. Further, engaging more deeply with discussions about development, alleviating poverty and the role of overseas volunteering in this should encourage the volunteers to foster a greater critical global citizenship. Encouraging volunteers to listen and ask question during their time overseas could also be a valuable learning tool. Here we want volunteers to ask, why is this child hungry? Rather than only desiring to give this child food or buy a woman's duck, we need volunteers to go deeper in understanding how and why these difficult situations arise. Here we need strategies that tackle root causes, rather than just symptoms of poverty. Once this understanding has developed, volunteers are well equipped to resist systems of oppression that perpetuate global poverty and inequality.

From the feedback event, it was clear that many of the issues touched on in this thesis contributed to ongoing discussions within these FBOs. As such, this thesis also suggests some questions and thoughts for ongoing discussion. For instance, how can we re-imagine volunteering programmes to challenge global capitalism and unequal power structures? How can we unsettle both the saviour/ superiority tendencies in volunteers and harmful stereotypes and representations of Africa? Ensuring volunteers are not undertaking activities they are untrained for would be valuable here. Further, FBOs could consider the images used in advertising placement to volunteers, to make sure they focus principally on the partners and their ongoing work in the host communities. Such images could also show diversity in the destination countries and what these communities offer as well as what they may lack. Further, how can we unsettle the privileges associated with volunteering such as how some parties are able to raise funds, take time out of work and travel? Conversations about whether having 'south-south' volunteers volunteering alongside the 'north-south', or indeed, whether developing 'south-north' volunteering programme would be feasible would be valuable here.

Another pressing question for all volunteering organisations to consider is whether cross-cultural experiences could be developed in UK. With the ever pressing threat of climate change impacting those living in poverty worst, it is timely to review the amount of volunteers travelling overseas each year and how their travel and activities may be contributing to climate change. Volunteering organisations could include the price of offsetting the volunteers' flights in the programme costs. Further, with ever-growing diversity of the UK church, it is plausible that meaningful cross-cultural experiences could be developed in the UK, without the need of international travel. Further, with ever improving technology, it is possible for organisations to demonstrate their development projects overseas through technological means. This does however lack the relational element that hosts and sending organisations were keen to develop, yet if climate goals are to be taken seriously, volunteering organisations need to consider the environmental impact of their volunteer programmes.

### 9.4.2: Avenues for Future Research

Future research may wish to use a different methodology to investigate this topic. For instance, my sole focus on qualitative methods allowed an in-depth understanding of the perspectives and opinions of my participants to be gained. However, it is possible for results to be generalised, where an understanding of how many participants associated with one opinion or perspective is not always clear. Utilising a mixed methods approach that contained a quantitative element might be able to gain a greater breadth of how these perspectives and opinions could be replicated in other case studies and across the research participants. Additionally, my research was conducted over a short time period, disallowing an understanding of the longer term impacts volunteering can have on both volunteers and host communities. Future research may wish to use a longitudinal approach, where they interview participants before, during and after their volunteer placements. Unlike my 'after' interview which was within five months of the volunteers returning home, future research may wish to interview participants five or ten years after their placement, to allow for a greater understanding of how volunteering influence individuals and communities in the longer term. It is plausible that overseas volunteering could be the start of continued engagement in addressing poverty, injustice and inequality both locally and globally. Whilst my research showed hints of this, research that was conducted over a longer period would be able to assess this in greater depth. Additionally, working more closely with local people would be an interesting avenue for further work. Here we would gain a better understanding of how local people receive volunteers. Such an approach would also align with more recent advances in postcolonial research. Whilst local perspectives were gained in speaking to Sollus, schoolteachers and church leaders, this was limited and further research may benefit from developing this local response to overseas volunteers.

Further, as my research progressed, I became increasingly aware of how my positionality as a volunteer with Amare, and as a white middle class female, may have influenced my interviews with Sollus in particular. Whilst I do not think my accounts should be disregarded, I believe many of their responses should be read in light of the fact that Amare fund the community development projects of Sollus, and I was an Amare volunteer visiting Sollus' community development projects. Further, the honour and shame culture of Tanzania is likely to have influenced the way those at Sollus answered my questions. Whilst my relationships did mean that Sollus shared some challenging elements of having volunteers, it is conceivable that other truths about the volunteers were held back. In this, I believe it is important for other research to be carried out where the researcher is able to spend a longer amount of time working closely with host organisations to look at how volunteers are received. This research would best be carried out by someone from the host country who will have a better understanding and immersion in the local culture and who is not attached to any pre-existing financial partnerships. Such research could then confirm or challenge these findings and would be valuable in increasing our understanding of how volunteers are received by host communities. This knowledge would be vital in ensuring these practices are beneficial and effective to host communities. Our understanding of how host communities receive volunteers could also be improved by undertaking research in different communities across different continents. My research has focussed on the Mara region in Tanzania and previous research has used case studies from Latin America (Baillie-Smith et al, 2013; Hopkins et al, 2015). Future research could build on this by exploring case studies from other areas in South America, Africa and South East Asia.

Whilst this research has increased our understanding of Christian international volunteering practices, many other faith communities are also sending and receiving international volunteers. Other research

investigating faith-based international volunteering has commonly focussed, like myself, on mainstream faiths. As such, we have a limited understanding of the faith-based voluntary practices outside of the mainstream faiths, such as Hinduism and Shamanism. Future research may wish to examine the voluntary programmes adhering to these less mainstream faiths to understand their relationship to development and their role in addressing global poverty, inequality and injustice and in promoting global solidarity and understanding. Further, future research may also want to work with a different Christian denomination organisation in their work. Given the way faith is messy, fluid and relational and often working to varying degrees in conjunction with secular influences, researching the work of different Christian organisation with different theologies and missions would provide a bigger picture of Christian international volunteering practices. Delving more deeply into the significance of the religious practices involved in these volunteer programmes may also be an interesting point of future research. Previous research on faith-based international volunteering has focussed principally on how religious *beliefs and values* influence engagements with poverty, development and global citizenships. Yet the role of religious *practices* have received less attention. As such, future research could build on my analysis of the role of prayer by also considering the place of various rituals and sacraments in volunteering placements, such as prayer, meditation, fasting, offering gifts and sacrifices, pilgrimages, worship, readings of religious texts or attending religious gatherings and festivals.

Further, new trends in international volunteering practices are emerging, such as 'south-south' volunteering and 'south-north' volunteering. Likewise the demographics of the classic international volunteer as a young, white, middle class female is being unsettled with increasing groups of volunteers from black majority churches in the UK volunteering overseas. Examining the experiences and impacts of these placements would show a greater appreciation of the diversity of volunteering experiences and increase our understanding of these many and diverging volunteering programmes. Further, exploring the different age profiles within international volunteering and the experiences of returning volunteers would be an interesting point of further research. Such research would be valuable in understanding how age or previous volunteering experience might influence the way volunteers approach their placement, connect with host communities and understand, and engage with, poverty, injustice and development. Here the naivety in some first time volunteers may be less prominent and they may be motivated to volunteers for very different reasons. Further, whilst their mindsets and subjectivities may still change and transform over their volunteer programmes, this is likely to be in a different way to younger volunteers who are travelling overseas for the first time. As such, exploring different age categories and the activities of returning volunteers would be interesting for future research.

Additionally, whilst many Christian international volunteering practices have formerly focussed on addressing global poverty and/or seeking new converts, new programmes targeting environmental justice are emerging. Future research may wish to investigate how religious beliefs and practices influence engagement with environmental care. Similarly, from the feedback event it was clear that those working in international volunteering believe looking into the environmental impacts of the volunteer placements is important. Here many FBOs are taking new commitments to care for the planet with the ever increasing acknowledgement that environmental damage is hurting those who are least able to adapt and be resilient, typically those living in poverty. Considering this, the future of international volunteering programmes could be uncertain and volunteering programmes may as such, undergo transformation and change. Such transformations would be an interesting point of future research.

Working more closely with FBOs who send volunteers could also be an interesting avenue for further research. Here the researcher could work collaboratively to develop pedagogic material to educate volunteers on the root causes of poverty, inequality and injustice and develop a critical global citizenship where the volunteers acknowledge their own privilege and challenges the systems of oppression that cause and perpetuate global poverty and injustice. Further, whilst many FBOs have training programmes before the volunteers travel overseas, their post-volunteer support and engagement is less well developed. Future research may wish to also work on developing a post-placement educational training. This would ensure volunteers are able to transition back to life in the UK and become socially active in pursuing global justice and poverty eradication.

# 10. References


Allport, G.W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Anderson, K., & Smith, S. J. (2001). Emotional geographies. *Transactions of the Institute of British geographers*, *26*(1), 7-10.

Anderson, L. (2006) Analytic autoethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 35* 373–95.

Andreotti V. O. (2006). Soft versus critical global citizenship. *Policy and Practice 3*: 40–51.

Andreotti V. O. (2010). Postcolonial and post-critical 'global citizenship education'. In *Education and Social Change*, Elliott G, Fourali C, Issler S (eds). Continuum: London and New York; 238–250.

Andreotti, V. O. (2014). Soft versus critical global citizenship education. In *Development education in policy and practice* (pp. 21-31). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Ansell, N. (2008). Third World gap year projects: youth transitions and the mediation of risk. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *26*(2), 218-240.

Appiah, K. (2005) *Cosmopolitanism: ethics in a world of strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Appiah, K. (2006) *The ethics of identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Arneil, B. (2007). Global citizenship and empire. *Citizenship Studies*, *11*(3), 301-328.

Asad, T. (1993). *Genealogies of religion: Discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam*. JHU Press.

Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity*. Stanford University Press.

Ashbrand, B. (2008) How adolescents learn about globalisation and development. In Bourn, D (ed.) *Development Education: Debates and Dialogue*, London: Institute of Education, University of London, pp. 18-27.

Askins, K. (2015). Being together: Everyday geographies and the quiet politics of belonging. *ACME: an International E-journal for Critical Geographies*, *14*(2), 461-469.

Austen, R. A. (1968). *Northwest Tanzania under German and British rule: colonial policy and tribal politics, 1889-1939*. Yale University Press.

Bailey, A. R., Brace, C., & Harvey, D. C. (2009). Three geographers in an archive: positions, predilections and passing comment on transient lives. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *34*(2), 254-269.

Baillie- Smith, M. (2008). International non-governmental development organizations and their Northern constituencies: development education, dialogue and democracy. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *4*(1), 5-18.

Baillie- Smith, M. (2016). Global Citizenship and Development: From Benevolence to Global Justice?. In Gurgel, J & Hammett, D (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of International Development* (pp. 99-117). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Baillie Smith, M., & Laurie, N. (2011). International volunteering and development: Global citizenship and neoliberal professionalisation today. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *36*(4), 545-559.

Baillie Smith, M., Laurie, N., & Griffiths, M. (2018). South–South volunteering and development. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 158-168.

Baillie-Smith, M., Laurie, N., Hopkins, P., & Olson, E. (2013). International volunteering, faith and subjectivity: Negotiating cosmopolitanism, citizenship and development. *Geoforum*, *45*, 126-135.

Baker, C., & Miles-Watson, J. (2010). Faith and traditional capitals: Defining the public scope of spiritual and religious capital—A literature review. *Implicit Religion*, *13*(1), 17-69.

Baker, C., & Skinner, H. (2006). *Faith in action: The dynamic connection between spiritual and religious capital*. Manchester: William Temple Foundation.

Bandyopadhyay, R. (2019). Volunteer tourism and "The White Man's Burden": globalization of suffering, white savior complex, religion and modernity. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *27*(3), 327-343.

Bandyopadhyay, R., & Patil, V. (2017). 'The white woman's burden' – the racialized, gendered politics of volunteer tourism. *Tourism Geographies, 19*, 644–657

Barnhart, E. L. (2012). Engaging Global Service: Organizational Motivations for and Perceived Benefits of Hosting International Volunteers. [Online] Available at: http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1371&context=open_access_etds. (Accessed on 15/11/19)

Barro, R. J., & McCleary, R. (2003). *Religion and economic growth* (No. w9682). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries*. Oslo: University Press.

Bartolini, N., Chris, R., MacKian, S., & Pile, S. (2017). The place of spirit: Modernity and the geographies of spirituality. *Progress in Human Geography*, *41*(3), 338-354.

BBC News. (2019a) *Stacey Dooley hits back at MP Lammy's Comic Relief 'white saviour' criticism*. [online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-47400300 (Accessed on 29/07/19)

BBC News. (2019b) *Comic Relief 2019: MP Lammy speaks out after donations stop*. [online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-47610081 (Accessed on 29/07/19)

BBC News. (2019c) *Comic Relief to cut back on celebrity appeals after Stacey Dooley row*. [online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-48607113 (Accessed on 29/07/19)

Beaumont J, (2008), "'Faith Action on Urban Social Issues'" *Urban Studies* 45 2019-2034.

Beaumont, J. and Baker, C. (2011, Eds.) *Postsecular Cities: space, theory and practice* Continuum, London.

Beaumont, J., & Cloke, P. (2011). *Geographies of radical postsecular urbanism*. Mimeo, Faculty of Spatial Science, University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

Beaumont, J., & Dias, C. (2008). Faith-based organisation and urban social justice in the Netherlands. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, *99*(4), 382-392.

Beaumont, J., & Nicholls, W. (2007). Between relationality and territoriality: investigating the geographies of justice movements in The Netherlands and the United States. *Environment and Planning A*, *39*(11), 2554-2574.

Beckford, J. A. (2012). SSSR presidential address public religions and the postsecular: Critical reflections. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *51*(1), 1-19.

Beidelman, T. O. (1974). Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa. *Africa*, 235-249.

Bekkers, R., & Wiepking, P. (2011). A literature review of empirical studies of philanthropy: Eight mechanisms that drive charitable giving. *Nonprofit and voluntary sector quarterly*, *40*(5), 924-973.

Bell, C. (1992). *Ritual theory, ritual practice*. Oxford University Press.

Benson, A. M. (2004). Research tourism: Professional travelling versus useful discovery. In M. Novelli (Ed.), *Niche Tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases*. Oxford UK: Butterworth-Heinemann Elsevier

Benson, A., & Seibert, N. (2009). Volunteer tourism: motivations of German participants in South Africa. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *12*(3-4), 295-314.

Berger, P. (1967) *The Sacred Canopy*. New York: Doubleday

Berger, P. L. (1999). *The desecularization of the world*. Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center.

Berger, P. L., Davie, G., & Fokas, E. (2008). *Religious America, secular Europe?: A theme and variation*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Berger, P.L. (2006) An interview with Peter L. Berger. *The Hedgehog Review 8*, 152–62.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). The postcolonial and the postmodern. *The location of culture*, *172*.

Biccum, A. (2007). Marketing development: Live 8 and the production of the global citizen. *Development and Change*, *38*(6), 1111-1126.

Boler, M., & Zembylas, M. (2003). Discomforting truths: The emotional terrain of understanding difference. In P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social change* (pp. 110-136). New York, NY: Routledge

Bompani, B. (2017) Religion and development in Sub-Saharan Africa: an overview in Tomalin, E (eds) *The Routledge Handbook on Religions and Global Development*. Routledge, Abingdon

Bompani, B. (2019). Religion and development: Tracing the trajectories of an evolving sub-discipline. *Progress in Development Studies*, *19*(3), 171-185.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Vol. 16). Cambridge university press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J,G. (ed.): *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourn D, & Brown K. (2011). *Young People and International Development: Engagement and Learning*. Think Global/UKAid: London.

Bowen, J. (2004) 'Beyond migration: Islam as a transnational public space', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 30*, 879-94.

Brace, C., Bailey, A. and Harvey, D. (2006) Religion, place and space: a framework for investigating historical geographies of religious identities and communities, *Progress in Human Geography 30*: 28–43.

Brennan, L., & Binney, W. (2010). Fear, guilt, and shame appeals in social marketing. *Journal of business Research*, *63*(2), 140-146.

Broad, S., and J. Jenkins. (2008). "Volunteers' Motivations at the Gibbon Rehabilitation Project." In *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism*, edited by K. D. Lyons and S. Wearing. Wallingford, UK: CABI, pp. 72-85

Brooks, K. (2002). Talking about volunteering: A discourse analysis approach to volunteer motivations. *Voluntary Action 4*(3), 13–50.

Brown, E. J. (2018). Understanding and engaging with development through international volunteering. *Journal of International Development*, *30*(1), 102-117.

Brown, G. (2007). Mutinous eruptions: autonomous spaces of radical queer activism. *Environment and Planning A 39*, 2685–2698.

Brown, L. (2005). Students at home in the world. *Toronto Star*, *126*.

Bruce, S. (1996). *Religion in the modern world: From cathedrals to cults*. Oxford University Press.

Bruce, S. (2002). *God is dead: Secularization in the West* (p. 30). Oxford: Blackwell.

Bryan A. (2012). Band-Aid pedagogy, celebrity humanitarianism, and cosmopolitan provincialism: a critical analysis of global citizenship education. In *Ethical Models and Applications of Globalization: Cultural, Socio-Political and Economic Perspectives*, Wankel C, Malleck S (eds). Business Science Reference: Hershey, PA; 262–286.

Burack, C. (2014). The Politics of a praying nation: the presidential prayer team and Christian right sexual morality. *The Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, *26*(2), 215-229.

Burawoy, M. (2005) 2004 American Sociological Association Presidential address: For public sociology. *British Journal of Sociology 56*, 259–94.

Burns, D. J., Reid, J. S., Toncar, M., Fawcett, J., & Anderson, C. (2006). Motivations to volunteer: The role of altruism. *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, *3*(2), 79-91.

Butin, D, W. (2005) *Service- Learning in Higher Education*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Butin, D. W. (2003) Of What Use Is It? Multiple Conceptualizations of Service-Learning in Education. *Teachers College Record 105*:1674–1692.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious life: the powers of mourning and violence*. London: Verso

Butz, D., & Besio, K. (2009) Autoethnography. *Geography Compass 3* 1660–1674

Buzzfeed (2015) What is Privilege? [online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hD5f8GuNuGQ (Accessed on 14/02/20)

Callaway, H. (1992). Ethnography and experience: gender implications in fieldwork and texts in Okely, J., & Callaway, H. (eds) *Anthropology and autobiography*. Routledge, Abingdon 29-48

Cameron, J., & Haanstra, A. (2008). Development made sexy: How it happened and what it means. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(8), 1475-1489.

Campbell, L. M., and C. Smith. (2005). "Volunteering for Sea Turtles? Characteristics and Motives of Volunteers Working with the Caribbean Conservation Corporation in Tortuguero, Costa Rica." *MAST, 3*: 169-93

Canada, L,M., & Speck, B,W. (2001) *Developing and Implementing Service-Learning Programmes*. San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Cannon, T. G. (1975). Geography and underdevelopment. *Area*, 212-216.

Caputo, R. K. (2009). Religious capital and intergenerational transmission of volunteering as correlates of civic engagement. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *38*(6), 983-1002.

Carter, A. (2013). *The political theory of global citizenship*. Routledge.

Carter, R.T. (1997). Is white a race? Expressions of white racial identity. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. Powell, & L. Wong (Eds.), *Off white: Readings on race, power, and society* (pp. 198-209). New York, NY: Routledge

Casanova, J. (1994). *Public religions in the modern world*. University of Chicago Press.

Casanova, J. (2006) Rethinking secularization. A global comparative perspective. *Hedgehog Review* 8(1–2), 7–22

Casanova, J. (2009). Religion, politics and gender equality: Public religions revisited. In S. Razavi (Ed.),*A debate on the public role of religion and its social and gender implications*.(pp. 5–33). Geneva: UNResearch Institute for Social Development, Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 5

Casanova, J. (2011). *Public religions in the modern world*. University of Chicago Press.

Cermak, M.J., Christiansen, J.A., Finnegan, A.C., Gleeson, A.P., White, S.K., & Leach, D.K. (2011). Displacing activism? The impact of international service trips on understandings of social change. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 6*(1), 5-19.

Chambers, P., & Thompson, A. (2005). Public religion and political change in Wales. *Sociology*, *39*(1), 29-46.

Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the Last First*. Longman, Harlow.

Chambre, S.M. (1987): *Good Deeds in Old Age: Volunteering by the New Leisure Class*. Lexington (MA): Lexington Books.

Chan, S. H., & Law, W. L. (2013). Public prayer, political mobilization, and civic participation: The case of protestantism in Hong Kong. *Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion*, *4*, 103-122.

Chase, S.E. (2011). Narrative inquiry: Still a field in the making. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 421-434). London: Sage

Chen, J. (2018). Understanding development impact in international development volunteering: A relational approach. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 138-147.

Chen, L., and J. S. Chen. (2010). "The Motivations and Expectations of International Volunteer Tourists: A Case Study of 'Chinese Village Traditions.'" *Tourism Management, 32*: 435-42

Chen, Y. W. (2019). Rebecca Tiessen, Learning and Volunteering Abroad for Development: Unpacking Host Organization and Volunteer Rationales. *Voluntas 30***,** 282–283.

Chew, S. C., & Lauderdale, P. (2010). Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology. In *Theory and Methodology of World Development* (pp. 19-73). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Chouliaraki L. (2013). *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*. Polity: Cambridge.

Christian Aid (n.d) The Poverty Challenge. [online] Available at: https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-08/the-poverty-challenge-game-schools.pdf. (Accessed on 14/02/20)

CIA World Factbook. (2018). Tanzania Demographics Profile 2018. [online] Available at: https://www.indexmundi.com/tanzania/demographics_profile.html [Accessed 06/12/18].

Clark, J., & Lewis, S. (2017). Impact Beyond Volunteering, a realist evaluation of the complex and long-term pathways of volunteer impact. [online] Available at: https://www.vsointernational.org/sites/default/files/VSO_ImpactBeyondVolunteering_MainReport_web.pdf. [Accessed on 20/12/18]

Clarke, G. (2006). Faith matters: faith-based organisations, civil society and international development. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association*, *18*(6), 835-848.

Clarke, G. (2008) Faith-Based Organizations and International Development- An Overview. In Clarke, G., Jennings, M. (eds) *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations. Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*. Palgrave, McMillan, Basingstoke

Clarke, G., Jennings, M. (2008) *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations. Bridging the Sacred and the Secular*. Palgrave, McMillan, Basingstoke

Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: a functional approach. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *74*(6), 1516.

Cloke, P. (2010). Theo-ethics and radical faith-based praxis in the postsecular city. In *Exploring the Postsecular* (pp. 223-242).

Cloke, P. (2011). Emerging geographies of evil? Theo-ethics and postsecular possibilities. *cultural geographies*, *18*(4), 475-493.

Cloke, P., & Beaumont, J. (2012). Geographies of postsecular rapprochement in the city1. *Progress in Human Geography*, *37*(1), 27-51.

Cloke, P., & H. Perkins. (1998) Cracking the Canyon with the Awesome Foursome. *Environment and Planning D*: *Society and Space 16*:185–218.

Cloke, P., Baker, C., Sutherland, C., & Williams, A. (2019). *Geographies of Postsecularity: Re-envisioning Politics, Subjectivity and Ethics*. Routledge.

Cloke, P., Thomas, S., & Williams, A. (2012). Radical faith praxis? Exploring the changing theological landscape of Christian faith-motivation. *Faith-based organisations and exclusion in European cities*, 105-126.

Cloke, P., Williams, A., & Thomas, S. (2013a) Faith-Based Action Against Poverty: Christians Against Poverty and Church Action on Poverty. In (eds) Cloke, P., Beaumont, J., & Williams, A. (2013) *Working Faith. Faith-Based Organisations and Urban Social Justice*. Paternoster, Milton Keynes.

Cloke,P., Beaumont, J., and Williams, A. (2013b) *Working Faith: faith-based organizations and urban social justice*: Paternoster, Milton Keynes.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2008). *Of revelation and revolution, volume 1: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa* (Vol. 1). University of Chicago Press.

Cook, T. (1998) The importance of mess in action research. *Educational Action Research 6* 93–109

Cooper, A. (1992). New directions in the geography of religion. *Area*, 123-129.

Corbett, S., & Fikkert, B. (2014). *When helping hurts: How to alleviate poverty without hurting the poor... and yourself*. Moody Publishers.

Corbridge, S. (1994) Post-marxism and post- colonialism: the needs and rights of distant strangers. In Booth, D., editor, *Rethinking social development*, London: Longman, 90-117.

Corbridge, S. (1998) Development ethics: distance, difference, plausibility. *Ethics, Place and Environment 1*(1):35-53.

Cox, H. G. (1975). *The Secular City: secularization and urbanization in theological perspective*. New York: Collier

Crabtree, R. D. (1998). Mutual empowerment in cross-cultural participatory development and service learning: Lessons in communication and social justice from projects in El Salvador and Nicaragua. *Journal of Applied Communication Research 26*(2), 182-209

Crabtree, R. D. (2008). Theoretical foundations for international service-learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, *15*(1), 18-36.

Crewe, E., & Fernando, P. (2006). The elephant in the room: racism in representations, relationships and rituals. *Progress in Development Studies*, *6*(1), 40-54.

Crompton, J. L. (1979). "Motivations for Pleasure Vacation." *Annals of Tourism Research, 6*: 408-24

Crossley, É. (2012). Poor but happy: Volunteer tourists' encounters with poverty. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment, 14*(2), 235-253.

Crouch, D., & L. Desforges. (2003) The Sensuous in the Tourist Encounter. *Tourist Studies* 3:5–22.

Crush, J (1994) Post-colonialism, decolonization and geography. In Godlewska, A. and Smith, N., editors, *Geography and empire*, Oxford: Blackwell, 289-313.

Crush, J (1995) *Power of development*. London: Routledge.

Crush, J. (1993) The discomforts of distance: postcolonialism and South African geography. *South African Geography Journal* 75, 60-68.

Dafydd Jones, R. (2010) 'Islam and the rural landscape: discourses of absence in west Wales', *Social and Cultural Geography* 11 (8) pp. 751-758.

Dalferth, I. U. (2009). Post-secular society: Christianity and the dialectics of the secular. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *78*(2), 317-345.

Darby, P. (Ed.). (2000). *At the edge of international relations: Postcolonialism, gender and dependency*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Darnell, S.C. (2011). Identity and learning in international volunteerism: 'Sport for development and peace' Internships. *Development in Practice, 21*(7), 974-986.

Davie, G. (1990). Believing without belonging: is this the future of religion in Britain?. *Social compass*, *37*(4), 455-469.

de Laine, M. (2000) *Fieldwork, Participation and Practice: Ethics and Dilemmas in Qualitative Research.* Sage, Thousand Oaks, California

Debele, S. B. (2018). Reading Prayers as Political Texts: Reflections on Irreecha Ritual in Ethiopia. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, *19*(3), 354-370.

Deneulin, S. (2013). *Religion in development: Rewriting the secular script*. Zed Books Ltd.

Deneulin, S., & Bano, M (2009) *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script*, London, Zed Books

Deneulin, S., & Rakodi, C. (2011). Revisiting religion: Development studies thirty years on. *World Development*, *39*(1), 45-54.

Denzin, N.K. (1997) *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, California.

Desai, V. (2002) Role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In Desai, V., & Potter, R (eds) *The Companion to Development Studies* (pp. 495-499). Arnold, London

Desai, V., & Potter, R. (Eds.). (2006). *Doing development research*. Sage.

Desai, V., & Potter, R. (Eds.). (2006). *Doing development research*. Sage.

Devereux, P. (2008). International volunteering for development and sustainability: outdated paternalism or a radical response to globalisation?. *Development in practice*, *18*(3), 357-370.

DFID (2009) *Eliminating World Poverty: Building Our Common Future*, White Paper, London: Department for International Development

Dickinson, J, P. and Clarke, C. (1972). Relevance and the 'newest geography'. *Area 3*, 25-27

Diprose, K. (2012). Critical distance: doing development education through international volunteering. *Area*, *44*(2), 186-192.

Dittmer J (2007) Intervention: Religious geopolitics. *Political Geography 26*(7): 737–739

Dixon, C. and Heffernan, M., editors, (1991) *Colonialism and development in the contemporary world*. London: Manseli.

Dower, N. (2002) Introduction. In *Global citizenship. A critical reader*, 1-8 Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Dower, N., & Williams, J. (2002). Conclusion in *Global Citizenship. A critical reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Dowling, R (2005) 'Power, Subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research'. In Hay, L. (eds). *Qualitative Research in Methods of Human Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dunn, K.M. (2005) Repetitive and troubling discourses of nationalism in the local politics of mosque development in Sydney, Australia*, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 23*: 29–50.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *8*(1), 54-63.

Dyer, R. (1997). *White*. London: Routledge

Eade, D., & Williams, S (1995) *The Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief*, Oxford: Oxfam.

Eder, K. (2006) Post-secularism: A return to the public sphere. *Eurozine* 17 August

Einolf, C. (2011). The link between religion and helping others: The role of values, ideas, and language. *Sociology of Religion, 72*(4), 435-455.

Endres, D., & Gould, M. (2009). "I am also in the position to use my whiteness to help them out": The communication of whiteness in service learning. *Western Journal of Communication, 73*(4), 418-436.

Epprecht, M. (2004). Work-study abroad courses in international development studies: Some ethical and pedagogical issues. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, *25*(4), 687-706.

Erasmus, B., & Morey, P. J. (2016). Faith-based volunteer motivation: Exploring the applicability of the volunteer functions inventory to the motivations and satisfaction levels of volunteers in an Australian faith-based organization. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *27*(3), 1343-1360.

Escobar, A. (2011). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press.

Eyben, R. (2004) *Relationships Matter for Supporting Change in Favour of Poor People. Lessons for change in policy and organisations*. No.8 Brighton: IDS

Fee, A., & Gray, S. J. (2011). Fast-tracking expatriate development: the unique learning environments of international volunteer placements. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *22*(03), 530-552.

Fenyoe A. (2007). *Public Perceptions of Poverty Qualitative Survey Wave 6, Research for Comic Relief*. DFID: London

Fileta, J. (2017). *Live Just.ly. Global Edition*. Michal Challenge USA. Portland

Fine, M., Weis, L., Powell, L.C., & Wong, L.M. (Eds.). (1997). *Off white: Readings on race, power, and society*. New York, NY: Routledge

Finke, R. (2003). Spiritual capital: Definitions, applications, and new frontiers. *Retrieved April*, *24*, 2005.

Fois, F. (2017a). Shamanic spiritual activism: alternative development in the Brazilian Itamboatá valley. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, *2*(2-3), 338-355.

Fois, F. (2017b). Understanding ethnography through a life course framework: a research journey into alternative spiritual spaces. *Area*, *49*(4), 421-428.

Forbes, D. (1981). Beyond the geography of development. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *2*(2), 68-80.

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters*: The social construction of whiteness. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Freeman, D. (2017) Pentecostalism and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa in Tomalin, E (eds) *The Routledge Handbook on Religions and Global Development*. Routledge, Abingdon

Freud, S. (1949) *The Future of an Illusion*, New York: Liveright

Frontani, H. G., & Taylor, L. C. (2009). Development through civic service: the Peace Corps and national service programmes in Ghana. *Progress in Development Studies*, *9*(2), 87-99

Frosh, S., & Baraitser, L. (2008). Psychoanalysis and psychosocial studies. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society, 13*(4), 346-365.

Fuller, D. (2008). Public geographies: Taking stock. *Progress in Human Geography 32*, 834-844.

Galley, G., & Clifton, J. (2004). The motivational and demographic characteristics of research ecotourists: Operation Wallacea Volunteers in South-east Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Journal of Ecotourism, 3*(1), 69–82.

Ganga, D., & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural" insiders" and the issue of positionality in qualitative migration research: Moving" across" and moving" along" researcher-participant divides. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research 7*(3)

Ganzevoort, R. R., & Roeland, J. (2014). Lived religion: The praxis of practical theology. *International Journal of Practical Theology*, *18*(1), 91-101.

Gibbs, E., & Bolger, R. K. (2005). *Emerging churches: Creating Christian community in postmodern cultures*. Baker Academic.

Gill S. (2007). Overseas students' intercultural adaptation as intercultural learning: a transformative framework. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education 37*(2): 167–183.

Gobo, G. (2008). *Doing ethnography*. Sage.

Goffe, L. G. (2015). Taking on America's “Voluntourism”. *New African*, *49*(548), 54.

Gökarıksel, B., & Secor, A. (2015). Post-secular geographies and the problem of pluralism: Religion and everyday life in Istanbul, Turkey. *Political Geography*, *46*, 21-30.

Goldberg, M. (1991). *Jews and Christians: Getting Our Stories Straight*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International

Goody, J. R. (2003). Religion and development: Some comparative considerations. *Development*, *46*(4), 64-67.

Government of Tanzania. (2015). *History*. [online] Available at: http://tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/72 [Accessed 06/12/18].

Graf, F. W. (2004): *Die Wiederkehr der Götter. Religion in der modernen Kultur*. München.

Greeley, A. M. (1997). "The Other Civic America: Religion and Social Capital." *The American Prospect. 32*:68- 74

Griffiths, M. (2014). Transcending neoliberalism in international volunteering. In K. Dashper (Ed.), *Rural tourism: An international perspective* (pp. 115–133). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Griffiths, M. (2018). Writing the body, writing others: A story of transcendence and potential in volunteering for development. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 115-124.

Griffiths, M., & Brown, E. J. (2017). Embodied experiences in international volunteering: power-body relations and performative ontologies. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *18*(5), 665-682.

Grimm, K. E., & Needham, M. D. (2012). Moving beyond the “I” in motivation: Attributes and perceptions of conservation volunteer tourists. *Journal of Travel Research*, *51*(4), 488-501.

Gruffudd. P., (1996) The countryside as educator: schools, rurality and citizenship in inter-war Wales *Journal of Historical Geography 22* 412–23

Grusky, S. (2000). International service learning: A critical guide from an impassioned advocate. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *43*(5), 858-867.

Guiney, T. (2018). “Hug-an-orphan vacations”:“Love” and emotion in orphanage tourism. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 125-137.

Habermas, J. (2001) Faith and Knowledge in *The Future of Human Nature*. Malden: Polity

Habermas, J. (2005): Equal treatment of cultures and the limits of postmodern liberalism. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 13(1), 1-28.

Habermas, J. (2006a). Religion in the public sphere. *European journal of philosophy*, *14*(1), 1-25.

Habermas, J. (2006b). 'Multiple Modernities and Postsecular Societies', in DE Vries, H., & Sullivan, L,E. (eds), *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, New York: Fordham University Press

Habermas, J. (2010). *An awareness of what is missing: Faith and reason in a post-secular age*. Polity.

Habermas, J., & Ratzinger, J. (2006). *The dialectics of secularization: On reason and religion*. San Francisco, CA: Ignatious Press.

Hall, S. (1993) Culture, community, nation. *Cultural Studies 7*, 349–63.

Hall, S. M. (2018). The personal is political: Feminist geographies of/in austerity. *Geoforum 110,* 242-251

Hamilton, M. B. (2001). *The sociology of religion. Theoretical and comparative perspectives*. London

Hanisch, C. (1970). The personal is political. In: Firestone, S., Koedt (Eds.), *Notes from the Second Year*. Published by Editors, New York, pp. 76–78

Hanson, L. (2010). Global citizenship, global health, and the internationalization of curriculum: A study of transformative potential. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *14*(1), 70-88.

Haraway, D. (1991). *Simians, cyborgs, and women*. Routledge, New York

Heaney, T. (1995). Issues in Freirean pedagogy: Thresholds in education. *University of Chicago.* [online] Available at: http://www. nl. edu/ace/index. htm. (Accessed on 19/12/19)

Heelas, P., Woodhead, L., Seel, B., Tusting, K., & Szerszynski, B. (2005). *The spiritual revolution: Why religion is giving way to spirituality*. Blackwell.

Heilman, B. E., & Kaiser, P. J. (2002). Religion, identity and politics in Tanzania. *Third World Quarterly, 23*(4), 691-709.

Henkel, R. (2011). Are geographers religiously unmusical? Positionalities in geographical research on religion. *Erdkunde*, 389-399.

Heron, B. (2007). *Desire for development: Whiteness, gender and the helping imperative*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Heron, B. (2015). Southern perspectives on ISL volunteers: Reframing the neo-colonial encounter. In M. A Larsen (ed.) *International Service Learning: Engaging Host Communities* (pp. 94-107). Routledge., New York

Hill-Collins, P. (1990) Learning from the outsider within the sociological significance of black feminist thought. In: Fonow, M., Cook, J (eds.), *Beyond Methodology Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*, 35-59. Indiana University Press, Bloomington

Hogg M. (2011). *Do We Need a Deeper, More Complex Conversation With the Public About Global Issues? A Review of the Literature*. Think Global: DEA: London

Holloway, J. (1998) *Sacred space: a study of the New Age movement*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, University if Bristol, UK.

Holloway, J. (2003) Make-believe: spiritual practice, embodiment and sacred space*, Environment and Planning A 35*: 1961–1974.

Holloway, J., & Valins, O. (2002). Editorial: Placing religion and spirituality in geography. *Social & Cultural Geography, 3:*1, 5-9

Hoogendoorn, G., & Visser, G. (2012). Stumbling over researcher positionality and political-temporal contingency in South African second-home tourism research. *Critical Arts*, *26*(3), 254-271.

Hopkins P, Olson E, Baillie Smith M, Laurie N. (2015) Transitions to religious adulthood: relational geographies of youth, religion and international volunteering. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 40(3), 387-398.

Hopkins, P., Baillie, S., Laurie, N., & Olson, E. (2010). *Young Christians in Latin America: The experiences of young Christians who participate in faith-based international volunteering projects in Latin America*. [online] Available at: https://eprints.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/production/174808/FBC74C96-8CE4-4914-831C-1C3B0E0FFADB.pdf. Accessed on (21/01/20)

Horton, J., & Kraftl, P. (2009). Small acts, kind words and "not too much fuss": Implicit activisms. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *2*(1), 14-23.

Howard, A. L. (2014). *More than shelter: Activism and community in San Francisco public housing*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hustinx, L. (2001). Individualism and new styles of youth volunteering: An empirical exploration. *Voluntary Action 3*(2), 47–55.

Iannaccone, L. R. (1990). Religious practice: A human capital approach. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 297-314.

Iannaccone, L. R., & Klick, J. (2003). Spiritual capital: An introduction and literature review. *Retrieved April*, *24*, 2005.

International Monetary Fund (2011). Tanzania: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. [online] Available at https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2011/cr1117.pdf. Accessed on [06/12/18]

Ivakhiv A (2006) Toward a geography of 'religion': Mapping the distribution of an unstable signifier. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96(1): 169–175.

Janoski, T., Musick, M., and Wilson, J. (1998). Being volunteered? The impact of social participation and pro-social attitudes on volunteering. *Sociological Forum 13*, 495–519.

Jansson, D. (2010). The head vs. the gut: emotions, positionality, and the challenges of fieldwork with a Southern nationalist movement. *Geoforum*, *41*(1), 19-22.

Jefferess, D. (2008). Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence. *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices*, *2*(1), 27-36.

Jenkins, P. (2002). The next Christianity. *The Atlantic Monthly*, *290*(3), 53-68.

Johnbcrist (2017) Honest Mission Trip Leader. [online video] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jcAYeKMJbgY. [Accessed on 20/12/18]

Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities (n.d.) '*Welcome to the Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities'*. [online] Available at https://jliflc.com/ (Accessed on 05/08/19)

Jones, A. (2011). Theorising international youth volunteering: training for global (corporate) work?. *Transactions of the institute of British geographers*, *36*(4), 530-544.

Jorgensen, D. L. (2015). Participant observation. *Emerging trends in the social and behavioral sciences: An interdisciplinary, searchable, and linkable resource*, 1-15.

Jupp, E. (2017). Home space, gender and activism: The visible and the invisible in austere times. *Critical Social Policy*, *37*(3), 348-366.

Kambutu J, & Nganga LW. (2008). In these uncertain times: educators build cultural awareness through planned international experiences. *Teacher and Teacher Education 24*: 939–951

Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social work*, *45*(5), 439-447.

Kapoor, I. (2013). *Celebrity humanitarianism: The ideology of global charity*. Routledge.

Kelle, U. (1997). Theory building in qualitative research and computer programs for the management of textual data. *Sociological research online*, *2*(2), 10-22.

Kerstetter, K. (2012). Insider, outsider or somewhere in between: the impact of researchers' identities on the community-based research process. *Journal of Rural Social Sciences, 27*(2).

Kingsolver, B. (2008). *The poisonwood bible*. Faber & Faber.

Kirk, & Miller, M, L. (1986). *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.

Kishwar, M. (1998). Learning to take people seriously, In Thapan, M. (ed) *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. Sangam Books. London. Pp. 293-311

Kollmuss, A., & Agyeman, J. (2002). Mind the gap: why do people act environmentally and what are the barriers to pro-environmental behavior?. *Environmental education research*, *8*(3), 239-260.

Kong, L. (1990) Geography and religion: trends and prospects, *Progress in Human Geography 14*: 355–371

Kong, L. (2001). Mapping 'new'geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity. *Progress in Human Geography*, *25*(2), 211-233.

Kong, L. (2010). Global shifts, theoretical shifts: Changing geographies of religion. *Progress in Human Geography*, *34*(6), 755-776.

Koponen, J. (1996). Development For Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania 1884-1914. Finnish Historical Society–Studia Historica 49. VRÜ Verfassung und Recht in Übersee, 29(4), 504-506.

Kothari, U. (2006). An agenda for thinking about 'race'in development. *Progress in development studies*, *6*(1), 9-23.

Kramer, L. (1997). Historical narratives and the meaning of nationalism. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *58*(3), 525-545.

Landorf. H., Doscher, S., & Rocco, T. (2008) Education for sustainable human development: towards a definition. *Theory and Research in Education 6* 221–36

Laws, S., Harper, C., Jones, N., & Marcus, R. (2013). *Research for development: A practical guide*. Sage.

Le Bourdon, M. (2018). Informal Spaces in Global Citizenship Education. *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, *26*, 105-121.

Leonardo, Z. (2002). The souls of white folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 5*(1), 29-50.

Levine, G. J. (1986) The geography of religion. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 11*(428-440)

Levine-Rasky, C. (2000). Framing whiteness: Working through the tensions in introducing whiteness to educators. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 3*(3), 272-292.

Levitt, P. (2008). Religion as a path to civic engagement. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(4), 766-791.

Lewis, D. (2005). *Globalisation and international service: a development perspective*. London: Institute for Volunteering Research.

Ley D, (2008), "'The Immigrant Church as an Urban Service Hub'" *Urban Studies 45* 2057-2074

Linden, I. (2007). The language of development: What are internationaldevelopment agencies?. In G. Clarke, M. Jennings, & T. Shaw (Eds.),*Development, civil society and faith-based organisations.* Basingstoke:Palgrave MacMillan

Lissner J. (1977). *The Politics of Altruism: A Study of the Political Behaviour of Voluntary Development Agencies*. Lutheran World Federation: Geneva.

Lorimer, J. (2010). International conservation 'volunteering'and the geographies of global environmental citizenship. *Political Geography*, *29*(6), 311-322.

Lough, B. (2011). International volunteerism in the United States, 2008. *Center for Social Development, 10*(11), 1-17

Lough, B. J., & Carter-Black, J. (2015). Confronting the white elephant: International volunteering and racial (dis) advantage. *Progress in Development Studies*, *15*(3), 207-220.

Lough, B. J., McBride, A. M., Sherraden, M. S., & O'Hara, K. (2011). Capacity building contributions of short-term international volunteers. *Journal of Community Practice*, *19*(2), 120-137.

Lunn, J. (2009). The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development: A critical theory approach. *Third World Quarterly*, *30*(5), 937-951.

Lyons, K., Hanley, J., Wearing, S., & Neil, J. (2012). Gap year volunteer tourism: Myths of global citizenship?. *Annals of tourism research*, *39*(1), 361-378.

Maddrell, A., & Della Dora, V. (2013). Crossing surfaces in search of the Holy: landscape and liminality in contemporary Christian pilgrimage. *Environment and Planning A*, *45*(5), 1105-1126.

Madge, C. (1997) The ethics of research in the 'Third World'. In E. Robson and K. Willis (eds) *Postgraduate Fieldwork in Developing Areas: A Rough Guide Monograph no.9*, Developing Areas Research Group, Royal Geographical Society, and Institute of British Geographers, London, pp.113-24

Mann, J. (2015). Towards a politics of whimsy: yarn bombing the city. *Area 47*(1), 65-72

Mannay, D. (2010). Making the familiar strange: Can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible?. *Qualitative research*, *10*(1), 91-111.

Marquardt, M. F. (2005) 'From shame to confidence: gender, religious conversion, and civic engagement of Mexicans in the U.S. South', *Latin American Perspectives 32*, 27-56

Marshall, K. (2001). Development and religion: A different lens on development debates. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *76*(3-4), 339-375.

Marshall, K. (2006) *Religion and International Development* [online] Available at https://www.pewforum.org/2006/03/06/religion-and-international-development/ (Accessed on 13/08/19)

Martin, D. G., Hanson, S., & Fontaine, D. (2007). What counts as activism? The role of individuals in creating change. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *35*(3/4), 78-94.

Marx, K., & Engels, F (1959) *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Matthews, D. A., & Clark, C. (1999). *The faith factor: Proof of the healing power of prayer*. Penguin.

Mauss, M., Pickering, W. S. F., & Morphy, H. (2003). *On prayer*. Berghahn Books.

McAlister, M. (2008). What is your heart for?: Affect and internationalism in the evangelical public sphere. *American literary history*, *20*(4), 870-895.

McBride, A, M., Benitez, C., & Sherraden, C. (2003) *The forms and nature of civic service: a global assessment Centre for Social Development*. Washington University, St Louis

McClendon, J.W., Jr., and J.M. Smith. (1994). *Convictions: Defusing Religious Relativism*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International

McCrae, R. R., & Costa Jr, P. T. (1997). Personality trait structure as a human universal. *American psychologist*, *52*(5), 509.

McCullough, M. E. & Larson, D, B. (1999). Prayer. In *Integrating spirituality into treatment: Resources for practitioners*, (eds) W. R. Miller, pp. 85–110. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

McDowell, L. (1992). Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, 399-416.

McEwan, C. (2002) Postcolonialism. In Desai, V. and Potter, R. editors, *The companion to development studies*, London: Arnold, 127-31

McEwan, C. (2002). Postcolonialism. *The companion to development studies*, 127-131.

McGehee, N. G. (2012). Oppression, emancipation, and volunteer tourism: Research propositions. *Annals of tourism research*, *39*(1), 84-107.

McGehee, N., & Andereck, K. (2008). 'Pettin' the critters': Exploring the complex relationship between volunteers and the voluntoured in McDowell County, WV, USA and Tijuana, Mexico. In S. Wearing, & K. Lyons (Eds.), *Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism: International case study perspectives*. Oxfordshire, UK: CABI

McGehee, N.G. (2014). Volunteer tourism: Evolution, issues and futures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 22*(6), 847-854.

McGehee, N.G., & Santos, C.A. (2005). Social change, discourse and volunteer tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(2), 760-779.

McGloin, C., & Georgeou, N. (2016). 'Looks good on your CV': The sociology of voluntourism recruitment in higher education. *Journal of Sociology*, *52*(2), 403-417.

McIntosh, P. (1990). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School, 49*(2), 31-35.

McLafferty, E. (2006). Analysing qualitative research data using computer software. *Computer*, *14*(2), 111-117.

Megoran N (2010) Towards a geography of peace: Pacific geopolitics and evangelical Christian Crusade apologies. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 35*(3): 382–398

Meneghini, A. M. (2016). A meaningful break in a flat life: The motivations behind overseas volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 45*(6), 1214–1233

Merleau-Ponty, M. (2013). *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge.

Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American journal of sociology*, *78*(1), 9-47.

Mesa M. (2011). Evolución y Futuro Desafíos de la Educación para el Desarrollo. *Educación Global: Revista International sobre investigación en educación global y para el desarrollo 0*(0): 122–140.

Middleton, J., & Yarwood, R. (2015). 'Christians, out here?'Encountering Street-Pastors in the post-secular spaces of the UK's night-time economy. *Urban Studies*, *52*(3), 501-516.

Mills, S. (2013). 'An instruction in good citizenship': scouting and the historical geographies of citizenship education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *38*(1), 120-134.

Mills, S., & Waite, C. (2018). From Big Society to Shared Society? Geographies of social cohesion and encounter in the UK's National Citizen Service. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *100*(2), 131-148.

Ministry of Agriculture (2012). Mara Region Agriculture Sample Census 2007/08. [online] Available at http://harvestchoice.org/sites/default/files/downloads/publications/Tanzania_2007-8_Vol_5t.pdf [Accessed on 11/01/19]

Mohanty, C. (2003) *Feminism without borders: decolnizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, N.C.:Duke University Press

Moser, S. (2008). Personality: a new positionality?. *Area*, *40*(3), 383-392.

Moss, P. (2001) *Placing autobiography in geography*. Syracuse University Press, New York NY

Mountz, A., Bonds, A., Mansfield, B., Loyd, J., Hyndman, J., Walton-Roberts, M., & Curran, W. (2015). For slow scholarship: A feminist politics of resistance through collective action in the neoliberal university. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, *14*(4).

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*, *30*(4), 337-350.

Myers, B. L. (2011). *Walking with the poor: Principles and practices of transformational development*. Orbis Books.

Nakayama, T. K., & Krizek, R.L. (1995). Whiteness: A strategic rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 81*, 291-309

Narayan, D. (1999). Bonds and bridges. *Social Capital and Poverty.* Washington DC. World Bank.

Narayan, D., Chambers, R., Shah, M. K., & Petesch, P. (2000).*Voices of the poor: Crying out for change.* New York: Oxford University Press

National Bureau of Statistics (2016) Basic Demographic and Socio-Economic Profie: Mara Region. [online] Available at https://www.nbs.go.tz/. [Accessed on 10/01/19]

National Bureau of Statistics (2017) 2016 Tanzania in Figures. [online] Available at https://www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/references/Tanzania_in_Figures_2016.pdf [Accessed on 10/01/19]

Natural Geographic (n.d). *The Trading Game*. [online] Available at: https://www.nationalgeographic.org/activity/the-trading-game/. (Accessed on 14/02/20)

Ngũgĩ, wa T. (1986): *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Heinemann.

Noxolo, P. (2011). Postcolonial economies of development volunteering. *Pollard, J., McEwan, C. and A. Hughes (eds.). Postcolonial economies, London: Zed Books*, 205-228.

Ogden, A. (2008). The View from the Veranda: Understanding Today's Colonial Student. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *15*, 35-55.

Okabe, Y., Shiratori, S., & Suda, K. (2017). What Motivates Japan's International Volunteers? Categorizing Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs). *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 1-21.

Okely, J. (1992) Anthropology and autobiography: participatory experience and embodied knowledge in Okely J and Callaway H (eds) *Anthropology and autobiography.* Routledge, Abingdon 1–28

Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2002). Considerations of community. *The American Behavioral Scientist, 45*(5), 846–866

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2003) Learning from cosmopolitan citizen-ship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences. *Educational Review 55* 243–54

Oxley, L., & Morris, P. (2013). Global citizenship: A typology for distinguishing its multiple conceptions. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *61*(3), 301-325.

Ozorak, E, W. (1997). *Gender and Cognitive Style Differences in Prayer*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, San Diego, CA

Ozorak, E. W. (2003). Love of God and neighbor: Religion and volunteer service among college students. *Review of religious research*, 285-299.

Pacione, M. (1999). The relevance of religion for a relevant human geography. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, *115*(2), 117-131.

Palacios, C. M. (2010). Volunteer tourism, development and education in a postcolonial world: Conceiving global connections beyond aid. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *18*(7), 861-878.

Parekh, B. (2003). Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. *Review of International Studies*, *29*(1), 3-17.

Park, J. Z., & Smith, C. (2000). 'To whom much has been given...': Religious capital and community voluntarism among churchgoing protestants. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *39*(3), 272-286.

Pearce, J.L. (1983): Participation in Voluntary Associations: How Membership in a Formal Organization Changes the Rewards of Participation. In Smith, D.H. and Til, J.V. (eds.) *International Perspectives on Voluntary Action Research.* Washington D.C.: University Press America, pp.148-156.

Pearson, R. & Tomalin, E. (2008) 'Intelligent Design? A Gender Sensitive Interrogation of Religion and Development' in Glarke, G., & Jennings, M (eds), *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.46-71

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 380-404.

Pedwell, C. (2012). Affective (self-) transformations: Empathy, neoliberalism and international development. *Feminist Theory, 13,* 163–179.

Penner, L. A. (2002). Dispositional and organizational influences on sustained volunteerism: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 8*(3), 447–467

Pickerill, J., Chatterton, P. (2006). Notes towards autonomous geographies: creation, resistance and self-management as survival tactics. *Progress in Human Geography 30*, 730–746.

Pinsky, D. (2015). The sustained snapshot: Incidental ethnographic encounters in qualitative interview studies. *Qualitative Research*, *15*(3), 281-295.

Ploszajska, T., (1996) Constructing the subject: geographical models in English schools, 1870–1944 *Journal of Historical Geography 22* 388–98

Ploszajska, T., (1998) Down to earth? Geography fieldwork in English schools, 1870–1944 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 16* 757–74

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 8*(1), 5-23.

Potter, R. B., Binns, T., & Elliott, J. A. (2008). *Geographies of development: an introduction to development studies*. Pearson Education.

Pottinger, L. (2017). Planting the seeds of a quiet activism. *Area*, *49*(2), 215-222.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Pykett, J., (2009) Making citizens in the classroom – an urban geography of citizenship education? *Urban Studies 46* 803– 23

Pykett, J., Saward, M., & Schaefer, A. (2010). Framing the good citizen. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *12*(4), 523-538.

Radcliffe, S. A. (2005). Development and geography: towards a postcolonial development geography?. *Progress in Human Geography*, *29*(3), 291-298.

Ratti, M. (2013). *The Postsecular Imagination: Postcolonialism, Religion, and Literature*. Routledge.

Rawls, J. (1997). The idea of public reason revisited. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, *64*(3), 765-807.

Rawls, J. (1999). *The laws of peoples*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press

Raymond, E. M., & Hall, C. M. (2008). The development of cross-cultural (mis) understanding through volunteer tourism. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *16*(5), 530-543.

Rehberg, W. (2005). Altruistic individualists: Motivations for international volunteering among young adults in Switzerland. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *16*(2), 109-122.

Reynolds, N. P., & Gasparini, J. C. (2015). Saying It Doesn't Make It So: Do We Listen and Act When the Host Community Tells Us What They Want?. In M. A Larsen (ed) *International service learning: Engaging Host Communities* (pp. 49-62). Routledge, New York.

Rhoads, R.A. (1998). "In the Service of Citizenship: A Study of Student Involvement In Community Service." *The Journal of Higher Education. 69*:277-297

Riessman, C.K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. London: Sage.

Robinson, J. (2003) Postcolonialising geography: tactics and pitfalls. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, 273-89.

Rogers, A., Bear, C., Hunt, M., Mills, S., & Sandover, R. (2014). Intervention: The impact agenda and human geography in UK higher education. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 13(1),* 1-9

Rookes, P. (2010) *Commitment, conscience or compromise: The changing financial basis and evolving role of Christian health services in developing countries*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, Unpublished PhD dissertation.

Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in human geography*, *21*(3), 305-320.

Rovisco, M. (2009). Religion and the challenges of cosmopolitanism: Young Portugese volunteers in Africa. In Nowicka, M. and Rovisco, M. (eds) *Cosmopolitanism in practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate

Ryen, A. (2004). 'Ethical Issues'. In Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J., Silverman, D., (Eds.). *Qualitative Research Practise.* London: Sage.

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. Vintage.

Sardar, Z. (1999). *Orientalism*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Saroglou, V. (2013). Religion, spirituality, and altruism. *APA handbook of psychology, religion and spirituality*, *1*, 439-457.

Schech, S. (2017). International volunteering in a changing aidland. *Geography Compass*, *11*(12), e12351.

Schech, S., Skelton, T., & Mundkur, A. (2018). Building relationships and negotiating difference in international development volunteerism. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 148157.

Scheyvens, R. (Ed.). (2014). *Development fieldwork: A practical guide*. Sage.

Scheyvens, R., Scheyvens, H., Murray, W, E. (2003). Working with marginalised, Vulnerable or Privileged Groups‟ in Scheyvens, R. and Storey, D. (eds) *Development Fieldwork*. Sage. London

Schoenberger, E. (1991). The corporate interview as a research method in economic geography. *The Professional Geographer*, *43*(2), 180-189.

Schwarz, K. C. (2015). Encounters With Discomfort: How Do Young Canadians Understand (Their) Privilege And (Others') Poverty In The Context Of An International Volunteer Experience?. *Comparative and International Education/Éducation Comparée et Internationale*, *44*(1), 5.

Secor, A. (2005) Discourses of globalization and Islamist politics: beyond global-local, in O'Loughlin, J., Staeheli, L. and Greenberg, E. (eds) *Globalization and its Outcomes*. New York: Guilford Press, pp. 279–295.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Serrant-Green, L. (2002). Black on black: Methodological issues for black researchers working in minority ethnic communities. *Nurse Researcher (through 2013)*, *9*(4), 30.

Shanin T. (1997). The idea of progress. In *The Post-Development Reader*, Rahnema M, Bawtree V (eds). Zed Books: London and New Jersey. 65–71

Sherraden, M. S., Lough, B., & McBride, A. M. (2008). Effects of international volunteering and service: Individual and institutional predictors. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *19*(4), 395.

Sherraden, M. S., Stringham, J., Sow, S. C., & McBride, A. M. (2006). The forms and structure of international voluntary service. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 17*(2), 156–173

Shillington, K. (1989). *A history of Africa*. Macmillan, Hong Kong

Shillington, K. (2012). *History of Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Sidaway, J.D. (2002) Postcolonial geographies: survey explore - review. In Blunt, A. and McEwan, C., edit, *Postcolonial geographies*, New York: Continuum, 1 1-28.

Simpson, K. (2004). 'Doing development': The gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development. *Journal of International Development*, *16*(5), 681-692.

Sin, H. L. (2009). Volunteer tourism—"involve me and I will learn"?. *Annals of tourism research*, *36*(3), 480-501.

Singer, P. (2004). *One World: Ethics Of Globalisation (2Nd Edn.)*. Orient Blackswan.

Singh, R. P. (1999). Rethinking development in India: Perspective, crisis and prospects. *Development as theory and practice*, 55-75.

Slater, D. (2017). Geography and underdevelopment—1. In *Development* (pp. 55-66). Routledge.

Slater, T. R. (2004). Encountering God: personal reflections on 'geographer as pilgrim'. *Area*, *36*(3), 245-253.

Smith, B., & Stark, R. (2009). Religious attendance relates to generosity worldwide. [online] Available at: http://www.gallup.com/poll/122807/Religious-Attendance-Relates-Generosity-World_wide.aspx (Accessed on 10/10/19)

Smith, C. and Denton, M (2005) *Soul searching: the religious and spiritual lives of American teenagers.* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Smith, D. P., & Mills, S. (2019). The 'youth-fullness' of youth geographies:'coming of age'?.

Snee, H. (2013). Framing the Other: cosmopolitanism and the representation of difference in overseas gap year narratives. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *64*(1), 142-162.

Solomon, R.P., Portelli, J.P., Daniel, B., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege.' *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(2), 147-169.

Song, M., & Parker, D. (1995). Commonality, difference and the dynamics of disclosure in in-depth interviewing. *Sociology*, *29*(2), 241-256.

Sopher, D. E. (1981). Geography and religions. *Progress in Geography*, *5*(4), 510-524.

Spivak, G. C. (2003). Can the subaltern speak?. *Die Philosophin*, *14*(27), 42-58.

Spivak, G. C., & Harasym, S. (2014). *The post-colonial critic: Interviews, strategies, dialogues*. Routledge.

Staeheli, L. A. (2011). Political geography: Where's citizenship?. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*(3), 393-400.

Stark, R., & Finke, R. (2000). *Acts of faith: Explaining the human side of religion*. University of California Press.

Steele, S. (1990). White guilt. *American Scholar, 59*, 497-506

Stoudt, B. G. (2007). The co-construction of knowledge in “safe spaces”: Reflecting on politics and power in participatory action research. *Children Youth and Environments, 17*(2), 280-297.

Swim, J. K., & Miller, D. L. (1999). White guilt: Its antecedents and consequences for attitudes toward affirmative action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *25*(4), 500-514.

Tan, M. J. P. (2014). Christian prayer as political theory. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, *15*(3), 366-379.

Tangney, J. P., Miller, R. S., Flicker, L., & Barlow, D. H. (1996). Are shame, guilt, and embarrassment distinct emotions?. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *70*(6), 1256.

Tanzania Social Action Fund. (2018). Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) III / Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) Programme. [online] Available at: http://socialprotection.org/programme/tanzaniasocial-action-fund-tasaf-iii-productive-social-safety-net-pssn-programme [Accessed on 06/12/18].

Taylor, C. (2011). Why we need a radical redefinition of secularism. In Mandieta, E., & Vanantwerpen, J (eds) *The power of religion in the public sphere*. New York: Columbia University Press

Taylor, P. J. (1989). The error of developmentalism in human geography. In *Horizons in human geography* (pp. 303-319). Palgrave, London.

Temu, A. J. (1980). Tanzanian Societies and Colonial Invasion 1875-1907. In: M. H. Kaniki, ed., *Tanzania under colonial rule. 1st ed*. Addison-Wesley Longman Ltd., pp. 86-127.

Ter Haar, G., & Ellis, S. (2006) The role of religion in development: Towards a new relationship between the European Union and Africa. *The European Journal of Development Research* 18(3), 351–67.

Thacker, J. (2017). *Global poverty: A theological guide*. SCM Press.

Thomas, S, M. (2005) *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Throsby, K., & Evans, B. (2013). ‘Must I seize every opportunity?’Complicity, confrontation and the problem of researching (anti-) fatness. *Critical Public Health*, *23*(3), 331-344.

Tiessen, R. (2012). Motivations for learn/volunteer abroad programs: Research with Canadian youth. *Journal of Global Citizenship & Equity Education, 2*(1), 1–21.

Tiessen, R. (2018). *Learning and volunteering abroad for development: Unpacking host organization and volunteer rationales*. Routledge. Oxon

Tiessen, R., & Heron, B. (2012). Volunteering in the developing world: The perceived impacts of Canadian youth. *Development in Practice*, *22*(1), 44-56.

Tiessen, R., & Kumar, P. (2013). Ethical challenges encountered on learning/volunteer abroad programmes for students in international development studies in Canada: youth perspectives and educator insights. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, *34*(3), 416-430.

Tinbergen, J. (1989) 'Development cooperation and religion', in JS Augustine (ed), *Strategies for Third World Development*, New Delhi: Sage Publications India, pp 11–15.

Tomalin, E. (2007). Sociology, religion and development: literature review. *RaD Working Papers Series*, *4*(4).

Tomalin, E. (2017) Introduction in Tomalin, E (eds) *The Routledge Handbook on Religions and Global Development*. Routledge, Abingdon

Trinitapoli, J and Vaisey, D (2009). The transformative role of religious experience: the case of short-term missions. *Social Forces 88* 121–46

Tse, J. K. (2014). Grounded theologies: 'Religion'and the 'secular'in human geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, *38*(2), 201-220.

Turner, B. S. (2001). Cosmopolitan virtue: on religion in a global age. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *4*(2), 131-152.

Tyndale, W. (2006) Key Issues for Development: A Discussion Paper for the Contribution by the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) to the World Bank's World Development Report 2001, *Occasional Paper No 1, Canterbury: World Faiths Development Dialogue, 1998; Tyndale, 'Faith and economics in ''development'''; and Tyndale, Visions of Development: Faith-based Initiatives*, Aldershot: Ashgate

UNDP (2018). Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update. [online] Available at http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/TZA.pdf. Accessed on [06/12/18]

UNESCO (2012) UNESCO Global Partnerhsip for Girls and Womens Education- One Year On. [online] Available at http://www.unesco.org/eri/cp/factsheets_ed/TZ_EDFactSheet.pdf. [Accessed on 10/01/19]

United Nations Development Group (2014) *Delivering the Post-2015 Development Agenda: Opportunities at the National and Local Levels*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations General Assembly (2014) *The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending poverty, transforming all lives and protecting the planet. Synthesis Report of the Secretary--General on the Post-2015 Sustainable development Agenda.* New York: United Nations.

United States Environment Protection Agency. (2017) *Energy and the Environment*. [online] Available at https://www.epa.gov/energy/greenhouse-gas-equivalencies-calculator (Accessed on 21/08/19)

Unstead-Joss, R. (2008). An analysis of volunteer motivation: Implications for international development. *Voluntary Action: The Journal of the Institute for Volunteering Research, 9*(1), 12–24

Valentine. G. (2008) Living with difference: reflections on geogra-phies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography 32* 323–37

Valerio, R. (2016). *Just Living: Faith and Community in an Age of Consumerism*. Hachette UK.

Valins, O. (1999) *Identity, space and boundaries: ultra- orthodox Judaism in contemporary Britain*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Glasgow, UK

Van der Veer, P. (2001). *Transnational Religion*', Paper presented to Conference on Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives. Princeton University.

Ver Beek, K. A. (2000). Spirituality: A development taboo. *Development in practice*, *10*(1), 31-43.

Verter, B. (2003). Spiritual capital: Theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, *21*(2), 150-174.

Visser, G. (2001). On the politics of time and place in a transforming South African research environment: new challenges for research students. *South African Geographical Journal*, *83*(3), 233-239.

VMproductionsUK. (2010). Gap Yah. [online video] Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eKFjWR7X5dU. [Accessed on 20/12/18]

Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO). (2002). *The Live Aid Legacy Research report by NOP*. VSO: London.

Vrasti, W. (2011). "Caring" capitalism and the duplicity of critique. *Theory & Event, 14*(4), 1–14.

Vrasti, W. (2012). *Volunteer tourism in the global south: Giving back in neoliberal times*. London: Routledge

Vrasti, W., & Montsion, J. (2014). No good deed goes unrewarded: The values/virtues of transnational volunteerism in neoliberal capital. *Global Society, 28*, 336–355.

Walsh, M. (2003). Teaching qualitative analysis using QSR NVivo. *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(2), 251-256.

Ward, G. (2014). The Myth of Secularism. *Telos*, *2014*(167), 162-179.

Ward, K. (2005). Geography and public policy: a recent history of 'policy relevance'. *Progress in Human Geography 29*, 310-319.

Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences That Make a Difference*. Wallingford, UK: CABI.

Wearing, S. (2004). "Examining Best Practice in Volunteer Tourism." In *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Assessment*, edited by R. A. Stebbins and M. Graham. Wallingford, UK: CABI, pp. 209-24.

Wearing, S., & McGehee, N. G. (2013). Volunteer tourism: A review. *Tourism Management*, *38*, 120-130.

Weber, M. (1976). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. Routledge. London

Weinmann, S. (1983). *Cultural Encounters of the Stimulating Kind: Personal Development through Culture Shock*. Washington, DC:ERIC Clearing House

Weller, S., (2007) *Teenagers' citizenship: experiences and education.* Routledge, London

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with data: Using NVivo in the qualitative data analysis process. In *Forum qualitative sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research 3*(2).

White, L. (1967). The historical roots of our ecologic crisis. *Science*, *155*(3767), 1203-1207.

Wilford, J. (2010). Sacred archipelagos: geographies of secularization. *Progress in Human Geography*, *34*(3), 328-348.

Wilhelm, M., & Bekkers, R. (2010). Helping behavior, dispositional empathic concern and the principle of care. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 73*(1), 11-32

Wilkinson, C. (2016). 'Babe, I like your lipstick': rethinking researcher personality and appearance. *Children's geographies*, *14*(1), 115-123.

Williams, A. (2013) Practical Theology and Christian Responses to Drug Addiction. In (eds) Cloke, P., Beaumont, J., & Williams, A. (2013) *Working Faith. Faith-Based Organisations and Urban Social Justice*. Paternoster, Milton Keynes.

Williams, A., Cloke, P., & Thomas, S. (2012) Contesting co-option: faith based organisations social exclusion and neoliberal urban governance. Environmental and Planning A, forthcoming

Willis, R. G. (1981). *A state in the making: myth, history, and social transformation in pre-colonial Ufipa*. Indiana University Press.

Wilson, D. (1993) Connecting social process and space in the geography of religion, *Area 25*: 75–76

Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology 26*, 215–240.

Wilson, J. (2012). Volunteerism research: A review essay. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *41*(2), 176-212.

Wilson, J., & Janoski, T. (1995). The contribution of religion to volunteer work. *Sociology of religion*, *56*(2), 137-152.

Wimark, T. (2017). The life course and emotions beyond fieldwork: affect as position and experience. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *24*(3), 438-448.

Woodberry, R. D. (2012). The missionary roots of liberal democracy. *American Political Science Review*, *106*(2), 244-274.

Woodhead, L. (2012) Introduction. In Woodhead, L & Catto, R (eds) *Religion and change in Modern Britain*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-33

Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. *Theory and society*, *27*(2), 151-208.

World Bank. (2019) *CO2 emissions (metric tons per capita).* [online] Available at https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/en.atm.co2e.pc (Accessed on 21/08/19)

World Population Review (2018) Tanzania. [online] Available at: http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/tanzania-population/ Accessed on [06/12/18]

World Vision (n.d) Global food ineqauloty- simulation game. [online] Available at: https://www.worldvision.com.au/docs/default-source/school-resources/global-food-inequality---simulation-game-instructions.pdf?sfvrsn=0. (Accessed on 14/02/20)

Wuthnow, R. (1991). *Acts of Compassion: Caring for Others and Helping Ourselves*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yea, S., Sin, H. L., & Griffiths, M. (2018). International volunteerism and development in Asia-Pacific. *The Geographical Journal*, *184*(2), 110-114.

Yeung, A. B. (2004). The octagon model of volunteer motivation: Results of a phenomenological analysis. *Voluntas 15*(1), 21–46

Yorgason, E., & della Dora, V. (2009). Geography, religion, and emerging paradigms: problematizing the dialogue: Editorial. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *10*(6), 629-637.

Youniss, J., & Yates, M (1999). "Conclusion: Transcending Themes." In M. Yates and J. Youniss, *Roots of civic identity: International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Universi

Youniss, J., J.A. McLellan, and M. Yates. (1999). "Religion, Community Service, and Identity in American Youth." *Journal of Adolescence. 22*:243-2

Zahra, A., & McIntosh, A.J. (2007). Volunteer tourism: Evidence of cathartic tourist experiences. *Tourism Recreation Research, 32*(1), 115-119

Zamawe, F. C. (2015). The implication of using NVivo software in qualitative data analysis: Evidence-based reflections. *Malawi Medical Journal*, *27*(1), 13-15.

Zane, D. (2016). '*Barbie challenges the 'white saviour complex'*. [online] Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-36132482 [Accessed on 20/12/18]

Zemach-Bersin T. (2007). Global citizenship and study abroad: it's all about US. *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices 1*(2): 16–28.